On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict:

Thinking About the Fundamentals

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The Albert Einstein Institution

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“All men dream: but not equally. Those who dream
by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake
in the day to find it was vanity, but the dreamers of
the day are dangerous men, for they may act on their
dream with open eyes, to make it possible.”

T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*

Dedicated to those who dream by day of victory over tyranny.

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Acknowledgements

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Dr. Gene Sharp, founder and currently Senior Scholar of The Albert Einstein Institution, was most helpful with comments and suggestions. As he is the pre-eminent authority on strategic nonviolent struggle, I was reluctant to attempt a book on a subject that he has so skillfully addressed in his many writings. One day, while discussing my book, I expressed my reservations to him since he had already written the bible on strategic nonviolent conflict *(The Politics of Nonviolent Action* and *From Dictatorship to Democracy)* and his response was, "How many books have been written about the Bible?"

My brother, Frank Helvey, waded through draft after draft with the critical eye of an appellate lawyer pointing out the need for precision since I would not be present to observe the reader's expressions or answer questions as I normally do when consulting or teaching a class. Constance Meadows has never exhibited justified frustration at seeing the manuscript returned so many times with major revisions to be edited.

There are many others, too numerous to name, who have influenced my thinking and commitment to promoting the understanding and use of nonviolent struggle against oppressive regimes. To all of them, I give credit. However, I take full responsibility for any errors of commission or omission contained in this book.

Introduction

The twentieth century was the most violent century in recorded history. Two World Wars resulted in the deaths of more than 200 million soldiers and civilians. In addition, there were many limited, but just as terrifying, wars of liberation, wars of conquest, and internal wars between people over political and religious beliefs. It is doubtful that there was ever a day in the 20th century that significant armed conflict was not in progress.

As advances in science and technology provide the means to make the consequences of armed conflict increasingly destructive of military targets, there is also the likelihood of even greater collateral damage, that is, the unintended destruction of civilian life and property. This collateral damage occurs not only because of the lethality of the specific weapons, but also because of the large numbers of weapons that are employed. Relatively inexpensive chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction and their ease of transport and delivery have frightful consequences for collateral damage to civilian populations. News coverage of the "smart bombs" used in Desert Storm in the early 1990s led the American public into a false belief that war strikes can be swift, clean, and sure. However, the extensive use of precision guided munitions in the war against Iraq in early 2003 by a United States-led coalition should not be considered the new standard for bombardment since few countries can afford the extensive use of these expensive weapons and their supporting technologies. Thus, even in limited wars, including civil wars, it is the civilians who will continue to bear the brunt of modern warfare.

As the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West began to thaw in the last two decades of the 20th century, surpluses of small arms, artillery, aircraft, military vehicles, and a wide assortment of munitions became available in the international arms market. Economies of scale in production of new weapons (that is, the more items that are produced reduces the cost per item) also contributed to making weapons available to buyers at a more affordable cost. Nations and commercial companies sent their arms salesmen to market their merchandise. This affordability and availabil-

ity of weapons ultimately facilitated the worldwide escalation of violent conflicts.

One question raised by these developments in military technologies and by the proliferation of increasingly destructive weapons is whether or not any principle is worth fighting for if the outcome of the conflict may be devastation for both sides. Who can really claim victory in a war that may destroy so much of the human and economic resources of a nation that the objective of the struggle cannot be obtained even by the winner? In the face of such destruction, adversaries have increasingly sought to avoid war through policies of deterrence and negotiations. Deterrence policies have been effective, especially in preventing nuclear war. Where parity in the capacity to wage war has not been clearly established, however, armed conflicts continue to occur. Moreover, where ethnic and religious factors are predominant, the calculus for initiating conflict may lose its objectivity.

There will always be ideals worth fighting for and oppression to be overcome. Some issues may not be resolvable through negotiations alone, but armed struggle may not be a viable option for an oppressed society, as the state often has the monopoly on military and other instruments of political coercion. This does not mean that oppressed people must then choose between submission and waging an armed struggle where defeat is nearly certain. There is a third alternative to armed conflict for the pursuit of political change—strategic nonviolent struggle. In this book, strategic nonviolent struggle means:

> nonviolent struggle that has been applied according to a strategic plan that has been prepared on the basis of an analysis of the conflict situation, the strengths and weaknesses of the contending groups, the nature, capacities and requirements of the technique of nonviolent action, and especially the strategic principles of that type of struggle.[1]

The struggles for democracy in Burma, Belarus, Iran, Tibet and Zimbabwe are examples of nonviolent struggles waged against op-

[1] Gene Sharp, *There Are Realistic Alternatives,* (Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003), 38.

pressive regimes for worthy goals—those of ending tyranny and bringing peace with justice to the people.

This book is written with hope that it may be of assistance to those who are searching for or examining nonviolent options as an alternative to armed struggle against an oppressive government or foreign occupation. It is not a "how to" book on waging nonviolent struggle. Rather, it offers a framework that encourages orderly thinking about the fundamentals of strategic nonviolent opposition to state tyranny. It includes information on the theory, strategic planning, and operations for waging strategic nonviolent struggle that has proved to be effective. Hopefully, the reader will find the book organized in a way that it can be readily adapted for communicating its subject matter to others in a variety of training environments.

Strategic nonviolent struggle is advanced as an alternative to armed conflict, in part, because of the reasonable likelihood that it will result in fewer lives lost and less destruction of property. But even if that were not so, experience has shown that nonviolent struggle is an effective means of waging conflict against repressive regimes. A military victory is achieved by destroying the opponent's capacity and/or willingness to continue the fight. In this regard, nonviolent strategy is no different from armed conflict, except that very different weapons systems are employed.

After gaining some familiarity with this book, some readers may erroneously conclude that the preparation of a strategy and supporting plans for waging a strategic nonviolent struggle entails such complexity that only the most developed and financially secure opposition groups could undertake the challenge. Not true. The starting gate for the application of strategic nonviolent struggle fundamentals is thinking about those fundamentals, and this book not only addresses them but also challenges the reader to think about applying these fundamentals for a particular cause. Unlike an aircraft flight manual, there is no detailed check list here that must be followed. Instead, there is a "check list" of ideas and suggestions to guide one's thinking in making a transition from dictatorship to democracy.

Any writings or discussions on the subject of strategic nonvio-

lent struggle owe much to Dr. Gene Sharp, resident Senior Scholar at the Albert Einstein Institution. He has spent almost five decades examining conflict. Dr. Sharp, while studying at Oxford University (1960-64), developed a theory and understanding of the nature of social power that is as fundamental to understanding nonviolent struggle as is the study of Clausewitz to understanding the nature and theory of military conflict. Chapters 1-4 of this book are based upon or derived from his considerable contributions to the study of the theory and applications of nonviolent conflict. Among Dr. Sharp's many publications his three volume *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973) and *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (1993) are particularly important sources for the study of strategic nonviolent struggle.

While I was attending Harvard University as an US Army Senior Fellow at the Center for International Affairs in 1987-88, toward the end of my thirty year career as a US Army Infantry Officer, I met Dr. Sharp during a meeting of the Program for Nonviolent Sanctions. He introduced his subject with the words: "Strategic nonviolent struggle is about seizing political power or denying it to others. It is not about pacifism, moral or religious beliefs." These words got my attention since my perception of "nonviolence" had been one influenced by Vietnam era "flower-children, peaceniks and draft dodgers." Since then, Gene has served as my mentor in understanding the principles, dynamics and applications of this potentially powerful form of struggle, as a colleague in the work of responding to requests for information by those engaged in resisting oppression, and as a good friend.

Chapter One
Theory of Political Power

Political power is the totality of means, influences, and pressures—including authority, rewards, and sanctions—available to achieve the objectives of the power-holder, especially those of government, the state, and those groups in opposition.

—Dr. Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*

The quest for power appears to be a natural appendage of all mankind and its institutions. It occurs between nations, within governments, between and within corporations, and even between friends.[2] Perhaps the most familiar to average citizens are power struggles that occur over the allocation of tax revenues. Legions of lawyers, lobbyists, and public relations specialists ply the interests of their clients to achieve preferential tax treatment or to receive lucrative government contracts. Sometimes, the benefits of such allocations to the people who pay the taxes are questionable. Often, the influence on decisions for such allocations is obscured from public view. For example, a cursory review of the US Defense budget process is replete with cases of legislators forcing airplanes, ships, and weapons upon the US Defense Department even though the military services do not want them, particularly if they are outdated, poorly designed or unnecessary surplus equipment. What governments choose to fund can be inexplicable, at least to the average citizen who knows little about special interests and their lobbyists. Even how tax money is ultimately used can be paradoxical. Environmentalists express amazement when government departments find new ways to undermine the very laws they are responsible for implementing. The use of collected revenues has always been a political issue in democracies and reflects a facet of the continuing efforts to control and influence power.

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[2] Dr. Sharp makes a distinction between social and political power. "Social power may be briefly defined as the capacity to control the behavior of others, directly or indirectly, through action by groups of people, which action impinges on other groups of people. Political power is that kind of social power which is for political objectives." *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973) I: 7.

More far-reaching in consequence than the competition over the distribution of tax revenues, however, are the struggles for power through control of government and the resultant relationships between the rulers and the ruled. When the needle on a continuum between "freedom and tyranny" (admittedly subjective terms) points strongly toward tyranny, there will be a desire for change by those who are oppressed. What changes and how change will be attempted depend upon the oppressed people's understanding of the nature and sources of power. Dr. Sharp describes two models to describe the basis for power in society—one monolithic, the other pluralistic.

The Monolithic Theory of Power

One model to explain political power, described by Dr. Gene Sharp, is referred to as the "monolithic" theory.[3] It portrays power as being centered at the top of a solid, unchanging power structure [See Figure 1]. Occupiers of power portrayed by this monolithic model may change for any number of reasons, but the structure of power itself, that is, its pyramidal shell, is fixed as if in granite, irrespective of the power mix within or the will to change from without. This theory assumes that the people are dependent upon the good will, support and decisions of the power holder and that the ruler determines how this power is to be exercised. Preferably, the ownership of this power structure changes through the process of orderly and legitimate elections. However, under a tyrannical regime, a decision to hold elections is often made by the ruler, with their outcomes generally pre-determined. General Ne Win in Burma and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe are examples of despotic rulers who viewed election rigging as an integral part of the election process. Occasionally dictators miscalculate and fail to take the necessary steps to ensure the desired result of an election. For example, the military regime in Burma was shocked when it authorized an election in 1990 and lost.

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[3] A complete discussion of Sharp's conception of the nature of political power can be found in Volume I of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* pp. 7-10. In the introductory chapter of this definitive work, Sharp delineates a common misconception about the structure of political power.

Its response to this unexpected setback was to refuse to accept the will of the electorate and to arrest opposition political leaders.

Authoritarian regimes are comfortable when their public accepts (or acquiesces under pressure to) this monolithic conceptualization of power. The mere fact that they hold power gives them the authority to rule and dictates the obligation of the people to submit, the desires of the ruled notwithstanding. The coercive power of the state under this model is viewed as a primary and legitimate means of enforcing compliance. The twentieth century offers a multitude of examples. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Soviet Union leader Josef Stalin caused the murder of almost 20 million people who were deemed to be real or potential threats to his hold on power—about the same number of Soviet citizens who died during the war against Germany in World War II.

To undermine and remove tyranny through nonviolent conflict, one must move beyond the conceptual bounds of the monolithic power structure to identify and assess the actual distribution of power in all of its forms. While the monolithic model of power is a useful analytical tool to the study of how despots obtain, hold and pass the reins of power, using this model as a guide to thinking about political change places a severe limitation on the options that can be considered. While it is important for "dreamers of change" to be aware of the monolithic model of power, in order to convert dreams into action they will find more success by substituting a model that views power, its attainment, and its loss in a completely different light—as one with "pluralism" as its guiding feature.

The Pluralistic Model of Power

Another helpful model to understand the nature of power is referred to by Dr. Sharp as the pluralistic model [See Figure 2]. Unlike the monolithic model, a solid, unchanging structure with power concentrated at the top, this theory portrays political power as being pluralistic and fragile. Sources of power are identified as residing among the people throughout society, with the power holder able to exercise only that power that the people permit. **In other words,**

the ruler can only rule with the consent and cooperation of the people. That consent and cooperation may be willingly given or it may be coerced. Consent may be a result of indifference on the part of some in society, or even cultural influence upon obedience patterns. In any event, the important point of the pluralistic model of power is that, since the people provide the ruler with the sources of his power, then the people can also withdraw their consent to be ruled by withholding the sources of power they collectively provide to the regime.

According to Dr. Sharp there are six sources of power that are the key to understanding its pluralistic nature. As will be discussed below, it is these enumerated sources of power over which control, substantial influence, or neutralization is sought. These sources of power find expression in organizations and institutions, called "pillars of support", discussed in Chapter 2.

1. Authority

Authority is the basis for claiming the right to rule and for demanding obedience from the ruled. Election results are often cited as the validation of authority to govern. This is why so many authoritarian regimes insist on holding elections and then stuff the ballot boxes, intimidate the electorate, limit the campaign activities of opponents, and refuse to acknowledge or accept unfavorable outcomes. Legitimacy is critically important to any government, and to be perceived as exceeding constitutional authority or being an outlaw regime has potentially serious consequences both internally and within the international community.

Internally, the loss of apparent legitimacy may become a major factor for the legitimization of political opposition. Using the concept of the "social contract," political opposition may proclaim that if the government has committed a material breach of the constitution of a nation, the contract between the people and the government has been violated, providing the basis for renouncing the obligations to obey, support and cooperate with the regime.

Externally, the loss of legitimacy by a regime may make the

international community receptive to calls for economic and political sanctions against it. Political and economic boycotts can weaken such regimes, as happened to the apartheid regime in South Africa and the dictatorship in Burma. Suspension of Zimbabwe from the British Commonwealth in 2002 was a profound statement that the Mugabe regime was not welcome to sit among democratic governments that had transitioned from colonialism to independent democracies. Moreover, democratic opposition groups are more likely to obtain outside financial and moral support once an authoritarian regime's authority to rule has been seriously eroded. By themselves, however, these international gestures of support are never sufficient to remove a ruler from power. Moreover, such sanctions can also be counter-productive if their effects do more harm to the public than to the regime.

2. Human Resources

The numbers of people who support, cooperate with, and yield to the ruler are an important determinant of a regime's power. This is not meant to suggest that if a majority of people do not like the incumbent leaders then a regime change is inevitable. It only means that the potential for change is present. History is replete with examples of oppression of the majority by a minority. On the other hand, strategic nonviolent struggle cannot succeed without the active support and cooperation of the majority. In a struggle for democracy, numbers are important!

3. Skills and Knowledge

Governing is much more complicated than ever. At the beginning of the 21st century, the President of the United States of America is widely accepted as being the most powerful person in the world. Yet, this most powerful ruler knows little or nothing about the complicated tasks of maintaining airplanes and flight schedules, administering maritime law, conducting criminal investigations, collecting taxes, developing war plans, distributing food, developing and

servicing communications networks, and a host of other proficiencies. The point is that skills and knowledge provided by the people permit governments, at all levels, to function. Without such contributions, a government collapses.

4. Intangible Factors

While it is difficult to measure their importance, intangible factors such as religion, attitudes toward obedience and submission, a sense of mission, or cultural norms can affect a ruler's relationship with the public. For example, there was a period in which there was an acceptance by many in some societies of the "divine right of kings," the belief that rulers were agents of God on earth. To disobey the ruler was thought to be disobedient to God. In other societies, such as Japan, the Emperor was considered to be a God-king. Democracy would have been impossible under those circumstances. At the turn of the 21st century, there were instances of the merging of the Islamic religion and traditional political power in some governments. While it is entirely appropriate to "render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," the debate must first be held over *what exactly* belongs to him. After all, democracy is predicated upon the belief that any power the ruler has is "on loan" from the people.

5. Material Resources

"He who pays the piper calls the tune" most certainly applies to politics. Control over the economy, property, natural resources, communications and transportation is an important aspect of the limits of power over the public. For example, where the state owns all farmland, it effectively controls a significant part of the lives of all farm families. In a similar fashion, where censorship prevails, the lives of all those involved in all aspects of journalism are controlled or influenced by the government. In countries where the oil industry has been nationalized, there is less dependence upon the public for tax revenues. This lack of dependence on tax revenues from the people has the effect of centralizing the power of the purse for governments.

6. Sanctions

The ability to coerce compliance and support for government laws, including rules and regulations, is limited by the support, cooperation and acquiescence of the public. Sanctions are used both to punish and to deter unacceptable behavior. Sanctions need not be unduly harsh or extreme, such as executions or imprisonment, to be effective. Denial or termination of employment, loss of retirement benefits, limitation on educational opportunities and promotions, travel restrictions (denial of passport), imposition of "eminent domain" of property, denial of access to water, and other sanctions can all be effectively employed to promote submission. In some authoritarian regimes, the media practices self-censorship because the government has the capacity to close down publishers and news organizations through the control of the distribution of newsprint or the revocation of radio and television licenses. Such sanctions are commonplace.

Sanctions are tools of every government. Most often they are used to curb anti-social behavior. At other times, they have been used as weapons to terrorize and to punish populations for political ends. For example, Nazi Germany used collective punishment to deter future actions of underground movements resisting German Army occupation. At the turn of this century, the Israeli government justified collective punishment as a means to deter acts of terrorism. Aside from the fact that punishing a group for the acts of individuals may be a violation of basic human rights, its use as an effective deterrent is questionable. Indeed, collective punishment and assassinations may have an effect opposite of that expected and desired. Collective punishment may result in a determination to retaliate rather than as a deterrent to future acts of violence.

Summary

Chapter 1 examines two models of power. The monolithic model portrays power as being exercised in an unchanging structure in which the people are dependent upon the ruler. The pluralistic model

sees power being exercised quite differently, with the ruler's being dependent upon the people. The sources of power that the people provide to a ruler are also identified, and should these sources of power be withheld from a ruler, his ability to govern would be impossible.

Descriptively, the various structures that permit and sustain the day-to-day operations of government are referred to as its "pillars of support". Thus, the sources of power find expression in organizations and institutions within and outside of government [See Figure 3, Pillars of Support]. Opponents of an authoritarian regime also require pillars of support. When important pillars of support are sufficiently undermined, the government, or the opposition, collapses just as a building will collapse upon itself when its support structure is weakened and gives way.

Chapter Two
Pillars of Support

And Delilah said to Samson, Tell me, I pray thee, wherein thy great strength lieth, and wherewith thou mightest be bound to afflict thee.

—Judges, 16:6

Organizations and institutions are comprised of a mixture of sources of power identified in the previous chapter. The sources of power made available through these groups provide the government with its ability to rule. Any regime will rely on some pillars of support more than on others. At the same time, authoritarian regimes attempt to limit the expansion and strength of the opposition's pillars of support. It should not be surprising that in a strategic nonviolent conflict, the operational focus for planners is primarily about the alignment and capabilities of pillars of support.

Identification of Pillars of Support

The identification and analysis of pillars of support are fundamental when opponents of a regime begin to think about any nonviolent strategy. Until the primary pillars of the regime are undermined, neutralized or destroyed, there is little prospect of political reform or regime change. Those waging a nonviolent struggle against an authoritarian regime, therefore, must give keen attention to key institutions and organizations.

Police

The motto "To protect and serve" is descriptive of the image most police departments worldwide seek to project to the public. However, the identity of who is being protected and served is not always the public. Instead, this most visible and omnipresent "face" of government sometimes gives priority to the task of protecting and serving a corrupt and repressive regime.

It is a common sense assumption that where corruption is systemic, reform is most difficult, if not impossible, without a regime change. Even in democratic societies, once corruption has been imbedded within the police structure, reform can occur only by replacing the individuals to whom the police report. The positive aspect of having local police under the supervision of locally elected officials is that the people can hold someone directly responsible for the actions of the police department personnel. Where there is a national police force, exerting influence over police behavior at the local level becomes more difficult.

Citizens do not need to wait for a regime change to begin changing the attitudes and behavior of police personnel. There are a few factors to keep in mind concerning the police. First, police normally live in the communities that they serve. Therefore, their families, relatives, acquaintances and friends have developed a network of relationships (e.g., schools, businesses, religious organizations, and social groups). If the government, then, characterizes those people in the community who oppose the regime as criminals, spies, or terrorists, the police have another reference point by which to evaluate government propaganda. Dr. Gene Sharp, who lived in Norway while doing research on the Norwegian resistance to German occupation during WW II, delights in recounting stories of the local police "faithfully" carrying out the orders of the German authorities. In one instance, the local police contacted the family of person to be arrested with the request that the suspect be informed of his impending arrest, complete with the day, hour and minute that the citizen could expect to see the arresting officers at his home.

Secondly, police forces carrying out the orders of a dictator should not, in general, be viewed as the enemy of the people. They are servants of a system that has failed. It is the system that needs to be replaced, not the thousands of honest and honorable people whose training and skills are necessary to serve and protect a democratic society. Of course, there may be some who need to be singled out for criminal prosecution on charges of murder, torture, or looting, but the focus should be on those individuals, not all who serve in the police forces.

Military

The use of military force to stay in power is viewed as the "trump card" by authoritarian regimes. Unlike police personnel who live and work in the local community, military units are often separated from civilian society, with their own housing, shopping areas, hospitals and schools. This separation from the public tends to hinder the development of personal relationships between military and civilian families. When a government decides to intervene with army forces in open political conflict, there is less incentive on the part of military units to exercise restraint in the use of violence. During the uprising in Burma in 1988, and a year later, in China, the governments dispatched Army units from outside the immediate areas of intervention. In these circumstances, soldiers were considered by authorities to be more reliable than the local police and militia, and thus more responsive to orders. In some countries, where large demonstrations are anticipated, specially trained and equipped riot control units are established to raise the threshold for requiring military intervention.

The time to develop plans to undermine the willingness of the Army to intervene against civilian protesters is well before a government's decision to employ them is made. Key to any plans for undermining the willingness of the Army to commit forces against protesters is to convince them that their own lives and the lives of their families are not threatened and that professional soldiers will have a secure future under democratic rule.

The actions of military units in response to orders are influenced by the attitudes, values and professionalism of its leadership. Officers generally view themselves as patriotic, loyal, and politically conservative. Their "professionalism" sometimes leads them to blindly support political leadership. The German General Staff under Adolf Hitler reportedly disagreed with his political aims, but, nevertheless, they developed the military plans to carry out the will of the Fuehrer. The key point here is that Hitler, as leader of the largest party in the German Reichstag, and having been appointed Chancellor in accordance with the constitution, was considered to

be the legitimate ruler.

The assimilation of democratic values into military culture is a major factor in limiting the use of the military's destructive power against the citizenry. Another factor is the perception of military leaders that there will be an important role for them under a democratic government. Both of these factors require time and careful thought in how to promote these ideas. One significant reason why the Serbian nonviolent movement had so few casualties when the Parliament was seized by thousands of protesters in October 2000 (one person died of a heart attack; another died in a traffic accident) was the Army's decision not to intervene in a "political" matter. No doubt, this decision was influenced by the fact that the democratic movement was clearly winning and members of the military had an interest in positioning themselves for a role in the post-Milosevic government.

Civil Servants

Civil servants are often maligned, criticized, ridiculed, and undervalued. Sometimes, these government bureaucrats are thought of as a colony of ants—thousands of nameless, faceless, mindless workers doing their own little tasks, going to and fro from their little cubby holes. Yet, political leaders, like the dependent "queen" of the ant colony, cannot survive without the obedient, skilled civil servants carrying out these seemingly innocuous activities. These are the people that translate orders into actions: they issue regulations, assess and collect taxes, prepare budgets, run schools, input information into thousands of databases, make purchases for the government, control the airways and harbors, staff embassies, maintain communications systems, and, in fact, perform all of the tasks that keep regimes functional. No government can operate without them.

Opposition groups who adopt strategic nonviolent conflict to seek regime change and democratic reform must understand the importance of winning the support of government employees. But it must also be understood that the very livelihoods of government employees depend upon their obedience to their government em-

ployer, and, as such, few employees can openly oppose the government until there is clear evidence that other pillars of support for the ruler have been seriously weakened. Nevertheless, commitment to an opposition movement by government employees, even if not openly expressed, can contribute to the advancement of the movement's cause in ways limited only by the imagination.

Media

If a popular movement for democratic change is to be successful, it must have the means to communicate its messages to its target audiences. Authoritarian regimes know this and attempt to deny or limit such access, leading to the creation of cyber warfare centers and draconian laws restricting the possession or use of computers and fax machines. Burma, for example, has imposed long prison terms for "unlicensed" machines. Ownership and use of satellite telephones are sometimes restricted, and governments sometimes jam opposition groups' television and offshore radio broadcasts in attempts to close off information to the public.

Control of the press and other internal forms of mass communication by an oppressive government can be easily accomplished. The establishment of publication review boards that require the submission of all books, magazines and newspapers prior to distribution has sometimes been very effective. There is a strong incentive for self-censorship when the review does not occur until after all publication expenses have been incurred. Newspapers, other publications, television and radio stations can have their licenses revoked, their equipment confiscated, and their owners and editors physically intimidated. To overcome these internal constraints, offshore productions are now rather common, whether it is a Burmese radio station broadcasting from Norway or an Iranian television station in California beaming interviews with opposition leaders to audiences in Tehran. The possibility of mass communication originating outside a country's border is exemplified also by the Serbian pro-democracy movement. Over 60 tons of leaflets were shipped into the country and distributed within a few days prior to the election in 2000.

Business Community

Even under the most centralized, socialistic authoritarian regimes, business communities play important roles in the economy. They provide to the people goods and services that the government does not supply. Often, governments give tacit approval to illegal black market activities to reduce incidents of politicized public frustration over shortages of consumer goods.

There is a downside to working with business communities, especially foreign and transnational. It is a perception that international firms prefer to work with authoritarian regimes rather than with more open and democratic governments. There are fewer coordination points once the ruler has been convinced of the rewards for making a deal. Working conditions, wages, and unions are often matters that the ruler can handle quietly and efficiently. The point is that international firms may have no particular interest in whether or not a government is democratic or tyrannical. What matters to them is profit. The challenge for a democratic movement is to convince these companies that change is coming and that it may, in the future, be important for them to be perceived as having been at least neutral in the actions that they have taken.

On a positive note, members of local and foreign business communities often have existing networks of contacts with local, regional and foreign businesses. When it is in their interest to do so, they can provide important resources including money, couriers, and advisors for a democratic struggle.

Youth

A primary concern of authoritarian regimes is to prevent young people from becoming politicized unless that politicization is in support of and controlled by the government. As long as students and other youth are not permitted to become an organized challenge to the stability of the government, opposition groups are deprived of the traditional vanguard for accelerated political change. Some ways governments keep students from becoming active in political oppo-

sition movements are well known. For example, those who openly oppose the regime are denied educational opportunities. In addition, schools may be closed or multiple campuses created to prevent large groups from forming. Long prison terms can be imposed for the violation of various laws that restrict freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. Government-run youth programs may be established, where money, food, clothing, and weapons are provided in return for students' intimidating opposition political parties.

Some people have tried to explain why young people are often willing to accept the risks of being in the front lines of revolutionary movements by suggesting that young people have "nothing to lose". Generally, it is true that young people are less likely to have a significant attachment to any employment, and they are less likely to have major family responsibilities. They also demonstrate a youthful zest for life and a belief in their own immortality. These reasons are only a small part of the explanation for their participation, for young people have even more important things to lose—their lives and their futures. Most importantly, however, it is not what might be lost, but rather what might be gained by living in a free and just society that provides impetus for youth involvement. Young people do not generally rationalize their bondage under tyranny. Nor do they generally accept, as given, the impossibility of change. Young people have an instinct, yet undiminished by experience, to know truth from falsehood and right from wrong without numerous gradations of a continuum. It is this intellectual clarity that motivates them.

A word of caution is necessary whenever consideration is given to enlisting students and other young people into a democratic movement. As a group, they are risk-takers in all facets of life. Without clear guidance and discipline, their actions may become excessive, and they may, if provoked, exhibit the same thuggish characteristics of those individuals utilized by an authoritarian regime. A "code of conduct" is important for everyone participating in a movement, but it is especially important for youth organizations, and imperative that the code of conduct be accompanied by training and strong leadership to reduce instances of damaging conduct.

Workers

Without question, the forces of globalization have made life more difficult for workers everywhere. Unions have been weakened in developed countries where companies threaten to move jobs where labor costs are cheaper. In developing countries, governments can be more interested in the economic benefits of having production transferred to them than in basic work-place safety, decent wages, or worker rights. Democracy, rule of law, and freedom of association are steps in rectifying the power imbalance that gives rise to the abuse of workers.

It can be difficult to organize workers, but, once organization is underway, unity can spread quickly. Recall that the democracy movement in Poland was catapulted to victory after the electricians began a strike in the shipyard at Gdansk.

One sector of the workforce of particular interest to planners of strategic nonviolent struggle is transportation and related industries. Any disruption of the movement of goods, people, and services can have immediate economic and political costs to the regime. At the same time, strategic planners need to consider possible unintended consequences if food and other essential commodities are denied to the public.

Religious Organizations

Historically, organized religion has played important roles in political struggles against tyranny—mostly on the side seeking change, but sometimes not. Often religious organizations have networks, both spiritual and financial, throughout the societies in which they operate, from the wealthy elites down to the grassroots of society. Too, because religious leaders are usually well educated in the ways of society as well as in religion, they are generally respected by both their followers and others who know of their works, and they can often influence the attitudes and behavior of others far beyond moral and religious teachings. They can also bring a spiritual aspect to an opposition movement and even become the most articulate speak-

ers for the opposition itself. On the other hand, they can become just as influential and just as articulate for the much narrower special interests of a tyrannical regime. Accordingly, movement leaders must be attuned to the task of encouraging the support of religious leaders or undermining the pernicious influence that they might have.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

Any group or organization that can function outside direct control and supervision of the government is a potential asset to a democracy movement. International NGOs can raise funds, communicate directly with many publics, obtain needed expertise from abroad, and provide insights obtained from experiences of other democratic movements. In-country NGOs are sometimes quite limited in the scope of activities they are permitted and in their sources for funding. Whether domestic or imported, NGOs sometimes are embedded with government informants, but in most cases that is unlikely to prove a serious challenge to overcome. An important value of NGOs in a nonviolent conflict is that they provide services to the public and thus demonstrate that people need not be totally dependent upon government. NGO activities can weaken the coercive, but subtle, bond that authoritarian regimes require for public obedience.

A dramatic example of the effectiveness of a NGO in undermining the dependence of the people on an authoritarian government occurred in Burma shortly after General Ne Win seized power in 1962. The western part of the country in the Arakan State suffered a devastating flood. According to reports, a Catholic missionary immediately radioed missionaries in other parts of the country and in India of the need for assistance. The response was quick and effective, with food, clothing and building materials arriving within days. When the regime finally sent in teams to assess the damage, they learned that no government assistance was needed and that the people had solved the crisis on their own. Ne Win was reportedly so furious over this incident that it was the cause for the expul-

sion of Christian missionaries from Burma.

Democratic movements need to be reminded, however, that NGOs may have their own agendas. It is important to understand what those agendas might be and to insure that compatibility exists with the goals and objectives of the democratic movement.

Other sources of support are professional organizations, political parties, foreign businesses, and foreign governments, individually and through international organizations. Not to be overlooked are small groups within a community, established for specific interests such as sewing circles, hunting and fishing clubs, book clubs, language study groups, motorcycle clubs, hiking and walking clubs, bird watching clubs, coin collecting clubs, garden clubs, and sports clubs. Strategic nonviolent struggle requires both control over sources of power and the active participation of the population. Organizations contain the sources of power and provide the structures for collective actions.

CHAPTER THREE
OBEDIENCE

Man is born free, and everywhere he is in irons.

—Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract, Book 1, Chap 1.

In an attempt to respond to observations such as the one above, Dr. Gene Sharp raised the following questions:

> How is it that a ruler is able to obtain and maintain political domination over the multitude of his subjects? Why do they in such large numbers submit to him and obey him, even when it is clearly not in their interest to do so?[4]

The questions Gene Sharp raised in the quote above were the basis for his insightful analysis of why people obey. This chapter, in great measure, provides that analysis. The pluralistic model of power (Chapter 1), the configuration of sources of power into pillars of support (Chapter 2), and obedience are the triad for understanding the theory and applications of strategic nonviolent struggle. It is essential, therefore, that there be a thorough understanding of why people obey, sometimes to the extent of giving up their own lives for causes they strongly oppose. Obedience is at "the heart of political power." A ruler cannot rule if the people do not obey. It is this insight upon which strategies for nonviolent struggle are based. If our purpose is to motivate the public to withdraw its consent to be ruled by dictators or other authoritarian regimes, we should first understand why people are obedient in the first place.

Habit

The reason most people obey is the habit of obedience. We are accustomed to obeying those in authority. Since infancy, we have been subjected to authority. For most of us authority begins with our parents, older siblings, grandparents, and other relatives and transfers to schoolteachers, policemen, and even symbols of authority.

[4] *Ibid*., 18.

For example, we obey traffic signals out of habit—even at deserted road intersections.

A primary objective of recruit training in military forces is to create new habits of obedience. The recruit quickly learns to respond immediately and without question to the commands of his drill sergeant. Hours of repetitive close order drill and constant intimidating supervision has little to do with modern war fighting skills, but they have everything to do with developing a habit of following orders. In addition, the basic soldiering skills, such as the use of weapons, are so deeply embedded through repetitive training, that their use is by habit, and requires no deliberative thought.

Those of us who are addicted to tobacco know what a habit is like. We don't know how many cigarettes we smoke, can't recall when we smoked them, and don't quit smoking when the price has risen to absurd levels. To break this or any other habit, including obedience to authority, we must make a deliberate decision to quit, constantly remind ourselves of that decision, and reiterate why it is important to break the habit.

Fear of Sanctions

Fear of punishment for disobedience is another reason why people obey. When we violate the law, the power of the state can be brought against us. We may be fined a lot of money. The state may seize our property. The state may put us in jail. The state may even execute us for disobeying its laws. The purpose of sanctions is to punish the offender and/or to deter others from disobeying the same or a similar law. A tyrant depends more upon the fear of sanctions to insure obedience than do rulers who have the willing support of the public.

Self-Interest

There are many people who may say they intensely dislike their government, yet they actively support it. Examining the role of self-interest and personal rewards that are available to those who support the government adequately explains this paradox. For example,

what personal rewards are given to members of the armed forces for complying with unpopular or even brutal policies? Promotions, decorations, prestige, special privileges, or retirement income may be factors. In a state-controlled economy where most people are employed by the government, it is in a person's self-interest not to lose his job, since there may not be any alternative employment. Others may gain significant financial rewards for supporting a regime. We should not condemn everyone who supports an unpopular government out of self-interest. Each person has his own reasons for doing so. Many believe there is no other alternative. Our challenge is demonstrate that it may be in their self-interest to disobey.

Moral Obligation

A sense of moral obligation to obey is common in every society. This obligation to obey derives from:

> **The Common Good of Society.** It can be argued that laws protect all citizens. Some laws protect us from the anti-social behavior of others (robbery, murder, rape). Other laws insure the general good of society (rationing of goods and services, conscription of young men into the Army, taxes). Sometimes we may even feel that the common good is best served by obeying a hated ruler because we don't believe an alternative would make life any better. Josef Stalin was clearly a tyrant. Yet, millions of people obeyed him because obedience was considered to be in the common interest of society. Even after learning that Stalin was responsible for the murder of more than 20 million people, some Russians still yearn for the "good old days." We may see peer pressure as a reflection of this moral obligation to obey. **Keep this in mind—peer pressure works both ways and can be a useful tool in changing patterns of behavior.**

Superhuman Factors

Sometimes rulers are given a superman image or a god-like character. When a ruler is perceived as being all-powerful or is perceived

as being the personification of a religion, it is almost inconceivable to think about disobeying that ruler. Who would have dared disobey Adolf Hitler at the height of his rule? This deification of leaders has had a long history. For centuries, people accepted the concept of "god-kings" and the "divine right of kings." Another variant of this divine rule approach is the 20th century fusion of religion and the state in Iran. To counter this factor of obedience, we need only to speak the truth—man is not all-powerful nor is the ruler an agent of God.

Psychological Identification with the Rulers

Some people view their rulers as an extension of their own family. In somewhat the same way supporters of a soccer team experience joy when their team wins or sorrow when the team loses, a ruler becomes an extension of the individual. This is especially true if the people and the ruler have come through a difficult experience together, such as a struggle for independence. (Some infamous fighters for independence include Ho Chi Minh, General Ne Win, and Robert Mugabe). If this familial extension is a factor in a person's obedience, a convincing case must be made that such an identification with the ruler is no longer justified.

Zone of Indifference

Some people may profess an indifference to most, if not all, laws that can even remotely be expected to impinge upon their daily lives. They obey simply because not to do so seems more trouble than it is worth. For most, that may be a reasonable assumption regarding most laws. Problems can arise, however, when laws restricting basic rights and freedom intrude into this comfort zone of indifference. It is the task of the democratic opposition to alert the public that indifference to this intrusion is no longer appropriate since it contributes to the enslavement of society as individual freedoms are eroded by increasingly subtle restrictions that are imposed upon the public.

Absence of Self-Confidence

For a variety of reasons, some people lack confidence in themselves, their judgment or even their ability to make themselves capable of resistance or disobedience. Where there have been decades of authoritarian rule, there may be little experience in society in making decisions or few opportunities for developing leadership. Perhaps some people think that their rulers are more qualified than they are to make decisions. Importantly for a resistance movement, they may feel they cannot successfully defy the government or participate in their own liberation. Restoring the public's confidence in its ability to pass judgment on the actions of the rulers and then to act on those judgments is critical to the success of nonviolent struggle. Sometimes, **what we may think of as "indifference" may well be an absence of self-confidence.**

Summary

We have just examined several reasons why people obey their rulers.[5] They provide a rebuttal to the argument that it is "natural" to be obedient. Human beings are not genetically pre-disposed to be submissive. Obedience is primarily a combination of habits, fear and interests—and habits and interests can be changed and fear can be overcome.

[5] *Ibid*., 19-25.

Chapter Four

Mechanisms and Methods of Nonviolent Struggle

. . . all that I claim is that every experiment of mine has deepened my faith in non-violence as the greatest force at the disposal of mankind.

—M. K. Gandhi

Moving a society from a dictatorship to a democracy is difficult no matter what path is preferred. If strategic nonviolent strategy is the path of choice by the opposition movement, consideration should be given to the different ways, or mechanisms, in which nonviolent struggle produces the desired changes in the power relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Dr. Sharp identifies four "mechanisms for changing power relationships." These are conversion, accommodation, coercion and disintegration. They provide a cognitive framework for viewing information regarding the dynamics of change in power relationships. These classes of nonviolent action are useful also as methods to activate change or to assess the effects of prior nonviolent actions or campaigns.

Included also in this chapter is an introduction to the broad categories of nonviolent actions: Protest and Persuasion, Noncooperation, and Intervention. See Appendix 2 for a listing of 198 different methods identified by Gene Sharp.

Mechanisms

The ideas of strategic nonviolent struggle must move from theory to practice in order to bring political and social change. Important in the transition from ideas to action is the selection by the opposition of the preferred mechanism, or process, for influencing attitudes and behaviors of the rulers. This decision will, in turn, then influence the selection of methods for achieving the desired changes in the relationship between the people and their government.[6]

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[6] For a more detailed discussion of mechanisms and methods, see Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Vols. II and III.

Conversion

The mechanisms, or processes, used against an opponent to induce change describe the intent or effect of nonviolent actions in differing levels of intensity. There may be situations where the regime can be convinced that its interests can be served by adopting a recommendation or demand by the struggle group. *Conversion* has many advantages for the struggle group. The regime's concession of the validity of the purpose for change could enhance the credibility and legitimacy of opposition leaders, reduce potential risks associated with direct confrontation with the state, and, very importantly, conserve resources for employment at later stages of the conflict. However, this mechanism, which usually involves actions of low-level pressures, is often insufficient when it is used against extreme, authoritarian regimes. Nonetheless, the selection of the issue and how it is promoted have occasionally been successful against even very brutal regimes.

One example of conversion used against a military dictatorship occurred in Burma and involved the teaching of English in the public primary schools. After the military takeover in 1962, General Ne Win decided that the English language was a reminder of Burma's colonial past and declared that English would not be taught at the primary level. At that time, English was commonly spoken by most Burmese as a comfortable second language. Observers also suggested a sinister reason for the change. In order to isolate the people from foreign ideas and influences, the denial of the opportunity to learn English was merely an extension of the draconian censorship laws being instituted. Restrictions on English in university lectures were also imposed. After more than two decades, it became apparent to the regime that there were major economic consequences for this form of censorship. Foreign investors were reluctant to develop factories where the workforce and mid-level managers were incapable of communicating in the international language of business and commerce. University students could no longer be accepted in large numbers to graduate schools in the West. Graduates of Rangoon School of Medicine were no longer accepted into practice

in foreign countries or even admitted in specialty fields for study abroad. After years of the business community and pro-democracy activists advocating wider availability of English language training, the regime relented because it was convinced that the concession would serve its own interests.

Recalling that strategic nonviolent struggle attacks the sources of power, conversion efforts against a regime's pillars of support can be productive. The first step in this process is to insure that members of the organizations and targeted institutions understand that they are not, as individuals, an "enemy of the people" and, in fact, would be welcomed, appreciated, and respected as productive members within a democratic society. As soon as this goal is accomplished, members of targeted institutions will be more receptive to information about the desirability for political change and later calls for specific actions.

Conversion is the primary mechanism for expanding and strengthening the pro-democracy forces. The skillful use of propaganda to contrast life under democratic and authoritarian regimes and news about current nonviolent actions occurring throughout the world are helpful in conversion efforts. News of demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, and other forms of protests are examples that affect public attitudes. Most importantly, a "vision of tomorrow" with a concept of how that vision could be achieved should be presented to the public.

Perhaps the strongest force for conversion efforts is the demonstration of courage of those who oppose an authoritarian regime. Public acts of courage against oppression dispel the stereotype that sees nonviolent protestors as cowards. Courage is universally respected whether that courage is displayed by soldiers on a battlefield or by nonviolent warriors confronting an oppressive regime. In some cases, the suffering endured by members of an opposition group can greatly influence the attitudes of both the oppressor and the oppressed. Courage is not always measured in the blood shed by individuals on behalf of a cause. The willingness to brave the consequences of an act is a true measure of courage. For example, those who signed the American Declaration of Independence in 1776

were displaying great courage in defying the King of England as were the 1950's and 60's civil rights activists who participated in the "sit-ins" to end segregation. Both of these acts of defiance caused the public to examine the fairness of the objectives of a struggle for which its proponents would accept grave risks.

Accommodation

Sometimes, a regime will accommodate a request or demand of pro-democracy forces, not out of respect or courtesy, but because the regime may want to defuse social tension, influence attitudes of foreign governments, impress citizens of its concern for the welfare of the people, or bring an issue to closure before opponents can exploit it for their own purposes. The regime has not been coerced but rather determines that its interests are not being directly threatened nor would it be weakened by conceding to the opposition on a particular issue. The reality is that the regime's absolute hold on power has already been weakened and has become sensitive to issues that could arouse public hostility toward the government. The news regularly reports such token accommodations made by totalitarian governments. The military regime in Rangoon and the leaders in Communist China often release a few prisoners when foreign VIP's from Western countries visit in order to accommodate, in part, the demands for political reforms. The Israeli government routinely makes symbolic gestures to accommodate the US government's requests for the humane treatment of Palestinians. These issues that governments select for accommodation are mostly considered to be irritants and, if agreed to, will not be threatening to their hold on power. In other words, it is a decision they can make with minimal perceived risks.

Recent examples of governments offering accommodation to opposition groups range from symbolic gestures to the appearance of free elections. For example, in response to increasing public protest against the Communist regime in Lithuania in 1988, its Supreme Council hoped to defuse the tensions by accommodating the democracy movement's demand to amend the constitution to grant

official status to the Lithuanian language and to permit the raising of the national flag over a historic site. By that point, the democracy movement, led by a "co-committee," "Sajudis" and other support groups, had become so widespread and successful, that mere symbolic accommodations by the regime were no longer satisfactory.[7] The result was that the opposition increased its credibility as a force for democratic change.

Saddam Hussein's 2002 decision to allow a religious observance is another modern day example of accommodation. Although Saddam Hussein was in absolute control of Iraqi society, he still acceded to the demands of Shiite followers to hold a march of thousands to a religious shrine on the outskirts of Baghdad. Hussein could have denied the demand, and he certainly had the military and police forces to enforce such a ban, yet he relented, possibly hoping to avoid igniting, again, open and violent opposition to his rule.[8]

Acquiescence to the call for free elections is one of the most extreme accommodations that a regime can offer, although the integrity of such elections is almost always compromised. In the last two decades of the 20th century, there have been numerous examples of authoritarian regimes allowing "free" elections within their borders.

The 1990 national election in Burma demonstrates how regimes plot the outcome of the people's choice. One of the last official acts of Burma's General Ne Win before stepping down from power was his call for multi-party elections. For months prior to his July 1988 retirement, there had been demonstrations for political change, including multi-party elections. Ne Win considered that multi-party elections would reduce, if not eliminate, overt opposition to the dictatorship. Given his regime's proven capacity to rig elections, he

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[7] Grazina Miniotaite, *Nonviolent Resistance in Lithuania: A Story of Peaceful Liberation*, (Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2002), 30.

[8] According to reports, Saddam agreed to the march on the condition that no banners or symbols be displayed. The marchers complied, but, according to one witness, they "stomped their feet so loudly they could be heard a block away."

felt that, in an election where the opposition would be hopelessly divided, a ballot box victory was assured.[9]

It is important that when groups select issues for possible accommodation that the accommodation should be expressed in terms that would make the rulers "look good" to the public if it were granted. At the same time, the public should understand that the accommodation by the regime reflects the growing power of the nonviolent movement and that changes to improve society need not require bloodshed. The cumulative effect of conversion and accommodation strengthens society and prepares it for even stronger action.

Elections are commonly used by authoritarian regimes to accommodate opposition demands for political change. Unfortunately, for the public, opposition leaders often naively assume that the elections will be free and fair, that the public can withstand government intimidation, or that international monitors can insure the integrity of the ballot counting process. The elections in Serbia in 2000 and in Zimbabwe in 2002 are examples of different election outcomes of rigged elections.

In Serbia, the political opposition established an election monitoring system from the ballot boxes to Belgrade election central office. They had a well-trained and organized Get Out The Vote (GOTV) campaign staff and a plan of action if the government should attempt to steal the election. The opposition groups' early reporting of election results from the counting stations reflected a democratic victory, and the outcome was announced before the official results were tallied. When the government revealed that, according to its count, the opposition had not won, the people went to the streets and proclaimed their victory with mass demonstrations occurring throughout Serbia. The demonstrations culminated in a march on Parliament. Preparations were so complete that the po-

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[9] After first rejecting the idea of multi-party elections, the Rangoon regime agreed to hold them in May 1990. Much to the surprise of the government, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won with over 80 percent of the votes. The regime then rejected the outcome of the election and cracked down again on political opposition.

lice and military did not intervene when the new government was declared and installed.

Zimbabwe's election in March 2002 had a much different result. In Zimbabwe, the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) designed its strategy around a Get Out The Vote campaign and international pressure for a free and fair election. Little attention was given to a "Plan B" that would go into effect should the elections be stolen by the incumbent, Robert Mugabe. Yet, there were early signs that Mugabe had no intention of relinquishing power. With promises of food and pay, youth militias, armed with clubs and knives, were formed and instructed to attack the opposition party workers. Supporters of the MDC and those suspected of thinking about voting against Mugabe were beaten and intimidated. The MDC presidential candidate was arrested for treason. Police and intelligence agents became involved in intimidating the public. Even on election day there were reports of citizens waiting in line to vote being beaten within sight of international monitors. Monitors from some European countries were deported. Voting stations were moved on election day, a government strategy that left voters at a loss over where to cast their ballots. Thousands of votes were unaccounted for when results were tabulated. Mugabe declared a victory. With no detailed plan or any capacity to enforce the mandate of the people's vote, the MDC had no alternative but to limit its response to declaring the election neither fair nor free and to call for another election. There was no assurance whatsoever that a new election would result in any different outcome.

The lesson here is that elections are too important to the regime to lose since that defeat would mean the loss of legitimacy both at home and in the international community. For the same reasons, elections are also too important for the democratic opposition to lose. Preparations should be made to insure that the public is prepared to validate their votes at the ballot box with carefully planned measures to thwart the regime's efforts to rig the results.

Coercion

Conversion and accommodation permit the oppressor the option to accept or reject the requests or demands of the nonviolent opponents with little or no immediate consequences. Coercion, however, can compel submission to demands placed before the regime. At the point where coercion can be effective, a regime's real power has already been significantly undermined. Opposition groups need to understand that attempts to coerce prematurely may undermine their own credibility with the public. Coercive demands that challenge the very existence of an oppressive government should be made only after careful planning and an objective analysis of the chance for success has occurred. If forced compliance with the demands cannot be assured, consideration must be given to a postponement or a reconfiguration of demands.

Political parties and student groups sometimes make "demands" that cannot be enforced. It would be more appropriate to inform the regime of organizational objectives, and only after mobilizing the public, to develop the group's strategic planning capacities and undermine the regime's sources of power should these objectives become specific demands. If, for example, there is a "demand" for a "free and fair election," what sanctions will be imposed upon the regime for rejecting that demand?

Coercion is successful when the demands of the opposition are achieved against the will of the regime. In the example of the October 2000 Serbian elections, opposition groups declared victory even as the Milosevic regime announced that runoff elections would be required. Anticipating election fraud by the regime, extensive planning to seize power through strategic nonviolent struggle was completed prior to the election. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs marched to the Parliament building and occupied it, decisively removing the dictator from power. Milosevic was not in a position to oppose his ouster. His primary pillars of support had evaporated. The police refused to maintain roadblocks established to keep civilian protesters from entering Belgrade, and the armed forces refused to intervene on behalf of Milosevic, citing that the election was a political

matter and not something that required military intervention. The withdrawal of these two pillars of support was a result of intensive efforts over a period of several months to convince members of the military, police and government that democratic change would not lessen their importance or result in a purge of leadership. Milosevic quickly realized that he had become powerless.

While there have been instances where threats of nonviolent coercion have resulted in victory for opposition groups, threats without a credible capacity to act do damage to any movement, as happened in Zimbabwe in 2002 when two calls for a general strike failed to materialize. It took many months of planning and coordination before another successful strike could be carried out. Attempts to coerce without the capacity to impose the threatened sanctions can result in the loss of the momentum of the democratic struggle; active public support can dwindle; and international supporters may question the viability of the movement. It is imperative that capabilities assessments be reviewed during the planning and execution of major nonviolent campaigns to avoid such adverse consequences to a movement.

Disintegration

As mentioned earlier, the ability by opposition groups to coerce the ruler is a reflection that a substantial redistribution of power has already taken place. Once the opposition recognizes that the balance of power has shifted in its favor, the regime should be attacked on a broad front by using the stronger methods of noncooperation and intervention. *If these attacks are sustained, the regime will **disintegrate,*** as the sources of power needed for maintaining its rule will no longer be available.

If disintegration of a regime is considered necessary by the opposition, then there must be no reduction in the intensity and scope of nonviolent actions until the collapse of the regime is accomplished. A loss of momentum by the opposition, for whatever reason, can provide the regime with an opportunity to re-assert its power. As in the “exploitation and pursuit” phase of a military campaign, which

occurs when the continuity of defensive positions has been breached, and the enemy attempts to withdraw, the attack must be pursued with the greatest intensity and a willingness to accept higher risks to bring the campaign to early closure. Without a strategic plan, a military force may not be able to respond rapidly and reinforce a breach. So it also is with nonviolent struggle.

Methods of Nonviolent Action

Nonviolent actions support and reflect the mechanisms of nonviolent change. The methods of nonviolent action that are available for use by the opposition against an opponent are both extensive and varied. In *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Sharp identifies almost two hundred (Appendix 2), and advises that this list is not exhaustive. In fact, creative thinking is encouraged to tailor methods for specific situations.

Nonviolent actions against an oppressive regime will frequently be met with violent retaliation. Beatings, torture, imprisonment, and other sanctions (violent, economic, and social) must be expected. When the government reacts in such a manner, however, wide publicity given to such acts can often be used by the opposition to strengthen public support for the democracy movement and to weaken the regime by exposing its brutality and by raising questions about its legitimacy. In movements over the past century, arrest and imprisonment were marks of honor.

The selection of the proper methods of nonviolent action depends upon the objectives sought by their use. Sometimes a movement, or organizations, might select a method based upon a preference or known capability, then may, or may not, select an objective for the nonviolent action. Such an approach "puts the cart before the horse." Ideally, one should first examine the objectives and then review the menu of methods to select those that provide the most appropriate means to further the strategic and tactical objectives. For ease of consideration, methods can be divided into three broad categories. These are protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and intervention.

Protest and Persuasion

Acts of protest and attempted persuasion provide a signal to the regime that the pro-democratic forces have serious disagreements and objections to certain actions and policies of the government. These protests are primarily symbolic in intent. Moreover, these acts also serve to put the public on notice that the nonviolent opposition movement is challenging the government for specified abuses. While acts of nonviolent protests and attempts at persuasion can be used to advantage at any stage of a strategic nonviolent movement, they are generally introduced early in a struggle, even at its public initiation.

Whatever forms of protest and persuasion are selected, the acts should receive wide-spread media coverage. Demonstrations or protest letters have little or no effect if no one knows about them. One startling example of protest and persuasion that attracted the attention of the world in the 1960s in Vietnam was the self-immolation of several monks who protested against the American-backed government in Saigon. These acts of suicide certainly caused many to ponder why someone would suffer such a painful death as a means of political protest. The purpose of the sacrifice was accomplished, due in large part, because the organizers invited international news agencies to cover and to photograph the event.

These methods do not constitute direct attacks on the opponent's sources of power, discussed in Chapter 1, but rather they are indirect attacks intended to expose the actions of the regime to public scrutiny, express objections to them and attempt to persuade the regime and others that change is needed. Nonviolent struggle is more, much more, than demonstrations of discontent.

Noncooperation

Noncooperation is the most powerful category of nonviolent methods available to opposition movements. Wise selection and planning for this group of actions within a strategy enhances the likelihood of removing sources of power from the regime. The regime's

sources of power, (i.e, authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, material resources, intangible factors, and sanctions) can be attacked by the entire population, not just by males of military age. No government can survive without the cooperation of the people. The message that noncooperation seeks to convey is that "we, the people, will no longer help the government oppress its citizens." The objective is to make it difficult for the government to function. The greatest impact of noncooperation is achieved when the actions that have been selected support the nonviolent strategy and are orchestrated rather than haphazard.

Coupled with the internal noncooperation campaigns against the regime's pillars of support should be a concerted effort to develop international support for the imposition of sanctions that focus on a withdrawal of cooperation. Noncooperation on the international level as well as within the country's borders can help the supporters of political change. The means to remove international support include campaigns such as discouraging or banning investments or imports, objecting to a regime's policies in international forums, placing restrictions on visa requests by officials, placing restrictions on its own citizens on travel to the oppressive regime and limiting foreign assistance to projects administered by nongovernmental organizations that directly support humanitarian needs.

Social Noncooperation

Every person in the country can practice social noncooperation. Avoiding social interactions with targeted members of the regime can be devastating to officials and members of their families. Social elites can stop inviting regime officials to social functions and refuse to attend government sponsored and private social affairs where officials are expected to be in attendance. Children and other relatives of regime officials can be removed from invitation lists to social functions hosted by neighbors and non-governmental organizations. Parents can prevent their children from seeing or dating children of government officials. Shunning sends a message that the people cannot tolerate those who support the regime. It should,

however, be used with care and precision. If it is used incorrectly, it could interfere with ongoing efforts to move regime supporters into the ranks of the opposition. Social and sports events that give prestige to the regime can be boycotted. Even wearing clothing frowned upon by the regime is an act of noncooperation. Those who have become selected targets quickly realize the message that such noncooperation imparts.

During the American colonial period, the governor-general of Massachusetts once complained that he was no more than a prisoner in spite of the fact that he represented the English crown. No one obeyed him, the local militia ignored him, orders and directives were disregarded, and members of the church congregation shunned him.

Economic Noncooperation

Based upon the obvious fact that all governments require revenues to provide the public services expected of them, economic noncooperation as a method of strategic nonviolent action is intended to attack government support by destroying or decreasing the economic incentives available to its supporters. By denying or diminishing the means available to purchase the goods and services to carry out policies, economic noncooperation impairs the ability of the government to retain the loyalty of its supporters.

Nonpayment or underpayment of taxes ("tax avoidance") is an example of economic noncooperation, but so too are consumer boycotts of products or services that provide revenue to the government, strikes that help create economic instability, or the withdrawal of bank deposits that can create a fiscal crisis that international investors cannot ignore. In addition, international corporations, trade associations and international non-governmental organizations can sometimes be persuaded to withhold economic cooperation with targeted governments, further weakening their economic well-being. Economic instability leads not only to the weakening of the pillars of support for a government, it detracts from and limits the regime's efforts to counter an opposition's political noncooperation efforts—not an insignificant contribution to the overall strategic

objectives of a nonviolent struggle.

In a strategic nonviolent struggle, it is important to trace the flow of hard currency coming in to a government and going out. The purpose is to identify points along the way that are vulnerable to attack by methods of economic noncooperation. In some cases, hard currency originates from the sale of natural resources, and goods and services sold as a result of low labor costs. For exports, the most effective targets for the employment of economic noncooperation methods are at the points of sale, while the points of origin for imports to a regime are most vulnerable for attack.

Political Noncooperation

While any and all acts of noncooperation against a regime, as part of a strategic nonviolent movement, are "political" in nature, Gene Sharp identified thirty-eight specific political acts of noncooperation among his "198 Methods of Nonviolent Action" (see Appendix 2). These actions are aimed primarily at the rejection of authority, a key source of power for a government or an occupying power. A collateral benefit of political noncooperation is that it also tends to strengthen civil society. Organizations gain experience and confidence in their capacity to act against the regime, alone, or in concert with other like-minded groups.

Political noncoooperation is a direct assault upon the government. Declarations, manifestos, and other documents rejecting the presumed authority and therefore the legitimacy of a regime can be used to convince the public that the regime has no right to exercise authority. These acts of protests are then followed by boycotts of government institutions, work slowdowns by civil servants, and innumerable opportunities for civil disobedience by the general public, which, if widely and consistently carried out, can neutralize or even disintegrate the power of an authoritarian regime.

Intervention

Nonviolent actions whose intent or effect disrupts established behavior patterns, policies, relationships or institutions are acts of intervention. They may also have the effect of creating new patterns of behavior, relationships or even creating new institutions. Since these methods are more direct in challenging the status quo, they provide more immediate visibility to the issue at hand, a more direct challenge to authority, and the possibility of a more rapid resolution. On the other hand, acts of intervention may result in more immediate and severe repression than acts that are intended as protest and noncooperation.

Recent US history provides examples of how effective third party intervention can be in changing established behavior patterns and social relationships. Lunch counter sit-ins during the US civil rights movement were highly visible and effective actions that directly attacked and quickly ended racial segregation at restaurants. Moreover, these campaigns also brought the necessary visibility and sense of urgency needed to enact legislation addressing the broader issue of racial segregation. As the decades have passed since these actions took place, the violence that occurred during many of the sit-ins is sometimes overlooked. Sit-ins provoked countless beatings, the unleashing of police dogs, and other acts of violence. This violence, often inflicted by authorities, initiated political *jiu-jitsu,* in that the power to inflict violence against peaceful protestors spurred the even more powerful forces of justice to act against segregation.[10] In a strategic nonviolent struggle against an authoritarian regime, that force for justice on behalf of the people may not be the national government, but may require reinforcement from the international community.

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[10] Political *jiu-jitsu* is briefly defined as "A special process that may operate during a nonviolent struggle to change power relationships. In political *jiu-jitsu* negative reactions to the opponents' violent repression against nonviolent resisters is turned to operate politically against the opponents, weakening their power position and strengthening that of the nonviolent resisters." For a fuller definition, see Appendix 1, "Glossary of Important Terms in Nonviolent Struggle."

An example of international intervention was the deployment of International Peace Brigade personnel to Aceh, Indonesia in December 2002. They were to accompany persons representing human rights observers and humanitarian assistance workers who were at risk of violent attack by those opposed to the movement for a change in the political status of Aceh. At the same time, the presence of these international observers served as a deterrent to violence against Indonesian government authorities by members of those groups advocating autonomy or independence. Another example of international intervention has been the use of foreigners as nonviolent bodyguards to protect Palestinian farmers and other civilians from attacks by Israeli settlers and Israeli Defense Forces.

Acts of intervention can weaken and possibly accelerate the collapse of the regime's pillars of support. With a well thought-out strategy, supporting plans can be quickly adjusted to exploit present opportunities. Without a strategy and plans that anticipate needs for adjustment, there may be a loss of momentum. Such a loss of momentum provides the opponent time to react and regroup. Conversely, should institutions of government perceive that interventionist acts are a direct threat to survival, their members may, indeed, rally around the leader and prepare for a "fight to the finish." To reduce the risk or impact of this possibility of a siege mentality affecting regime supporters, a propaganda effort targeted towards these sources of power should be considered and implemented early.

Chapter Five
Problem Solving

The solution to a problem cannot hide when the staff study format is used.

—Saw Yo Shu, Karen National Union, when asked why he supported teaching its use for his Political Defiance Committee Staff

There must be clear objectives, a strategy, and supporting plans in order to wage any conflict successfully. The objectives and guidance for a grand strategy for nonviolent struggle will be the result of policy decisions by the opposition movement leadership. When it comes to translating these policy decisions into executable supporting plans, or when the task is to develop strategic objectives and supporting plans, a large number of problems to solve arise.

Experience has shown that problem-solving skills are often a scarce resource in pro-democracy movements in countries where authoritarian regimes have exercised tight control over society, and decision-making on major issues has been restricted to a small number of regime supporters. For example, in extreme cases, decisions about an individual's choices about where to live, what to study in college, what job to take, and what foods are available to eat are decisions that may be made by the government. In some cases, either due to fear or cultural norms, subordinates are reluctant to make recommendations, but merely carry out decisions made by others. To be adept at recognizing problems, assessing their causes, and making viable recommendations, people must have been allowed the opportunity to hone their skills on problems large and small.

The reality is that people make thousands of decisions in their lifetimes to solve problems. Most of these problems are rather minor (what to wear, what to buy, or who to invite to a birthday party for a small child). Some are more important, such as what career to pursue. Many of these decisions are of so little significance that the final choice doesn't matter because we can live with the consequences of selecting less than the optimum solution. That indifference is not the case, however, with other choices. The decision about whom to

marry is one that may affect us every day for the rest of our lives!

Like individuals, organizations must also solve problems. Because organizational decisions may affect many people both inside and outside the organization, and have resource consequences, it is important that the decision-maker has presented to him or her recommendations that are objective and based upon the best information available. Since there are many similarities in the decision-making environments of military and nonviolent struggles, the problem solving methodology of the military staff can be a useful example for those who make decisions and for those whose responsibility it is to make recommendations to the decision maker.

This problem solving methodology can be used for a wide variety of administrative and managerial topics, can be concise or detailed, and can be used at every level within a movement. It is important that the format be followed in the sequence outlined below.

Format for Staff Study

1. Statement of the Problem
2. Assumptions
3. Facts Bearing on the Problem
4. Discussion of the Facts
5. Conclusions
6. Recommendations

Paragraph 1. Statement of the Problem

As the problem is the center of attention, it is stated in the first paragraph. Finding the words to put in this paragraph may not be as easy a task as it may at first glance appear to be. There is the possibility that paragraph one could mistakenly address a symptom, rather than the problem itself. The common, everyday experience of a man who takes two aspirins with his recurring headache can illustrate an example of this mistake in logic. He has alleviated the symptoms of the headache, but the underlying problem—why he has the headache in the first place—lies undiscovered and unaddressed.

Paragraph 2. Assumptions

In a staff study, assumptions are reasonable suppositions that serve as substitutes for facts. Usually they will address the future events, conditions, and availability of resources. In effect, assumptions are artificial devices to fill gaps in actual knowledge. Ideally, we would prefer not to have to make any assumptions, and they are only included when they are necessary to address the problem to be solved. This is why assumptions should be carefully scrutinized for their validity. There is also the danger of unstated, but implied, assumptions such as about certain capabilities of groups being considered for important tasks.

Paragraph 3. Facts Bearing on the Problem

One of the important steps in successfully solving problems is collecting factual information relating to the problem. In the original example, the man with the recurring headache, all of the facts concerning his lifestyle—facts about his diet, eyesight, work habits, exercise, stress levels, and a host of others—should be outlined.

Paragraph 4. Discussion of Facts

In this paragraph, assumptions and factual information are discussed and analyzed as they relate to the problem. Through this process, options are developed and considered. The headache sufferer can serve as an example to illustrate the importance of this procedure. A doctor, seeking a solution to recurring headaches, might well examine the sufferer's exposure to all the known causes of headaches. That person may not have a problem sleeping, may handle stress well, does not live in a malaria-infested area, and does not have the flu, but he does do a lot of reading, is 40 years old, and has not had his eyes examined in over 10 years.

Paragraph 5. Conclusions

After a discussion and analysis of assumptions and available information directly relating to the problem, the best solution is selected and stated in this paragraph. For example, eyestrain might well be the conclusion that a doctor draws concerning the patient with the headache.

Paragraph 6. Recommendations

In this paragraph, the conclusions are translated into specific recommendations for the decision maker that will result in actions to solve the problem. In our example, an eye examination would be in order to solve the headaches.

A simple "test" of the recommendations is conducted using three criteria:

1. Suitability. Will the recommendations really solve the stated problem?
2. Feasibility. Can the recommendations be implemented?
3. Acceptability. Is the decision maker willing to accept the costs (in political, financial, and human resource terms)? The decision will require a diversion of existing resources or the acquisition of new resources.

An added value to using this problem-solving method is that the decision makers can review how the recommendations were developed. In addition, the decision makers may have additional information that was not considered in arriving at the recommendations. In light of this new information, a review of the staff study might be warranted. In mid-1992, a coalition of Burmese opposition groups established its Political Defiance Committee (PDC). One of its first tasks was to prepare a study on how best to wage the struggle for democracy in Burma in light of changing circumstances. It prepared a staff study, the contents of which were used in high level discussions within the National Council of the Union of Burma

to decide whether priority should continue to be given to armed struggle or if the nonviolent struggle should be pursued. Obviously, the PDC, formed to guide a strategic nonviolent struggle to parallel the nonviolent efforts of Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy, favored the nonviolent option, but they were careful to be objective. The staff study format was used. The PDC's staff study is an example of how this problem solving method can be used to address strategic policy questions. The study is provided at Appendix 3.

Summary

With experience, the staff study format for solving problems will become second nature to the user. Like the combination of numbers for opening a safe, the sequence of the paragraphs in the staff study format will permit opening the solution to a problem.

Chapter Six
Strategic Estimate

And therefore I say: Know your enemy, know yourself; your victory will never be endangered.

—Sun Tzu, The Art of War (500 BC)[11]

The strategic estimate is a critical tool for strategic planners. It provides a systematic approach to developing the best course of action to accomplish a mission. It does this by identifying and analyzing important factors such as the environment (physical, military, political), and the capabilities of those expected to be participants (both friendly forces and the opponent) and then compares strengths and vulnerabilities to develop courses of action. Then the best course of action is selected. Since strategic operational plans are based upon information contained in a strategic estimate, the quality of analysis and the quantity of information analyzed significantly influence the chances for success. The strategic estimate process is also useful in developing policies, responding to crises, and providing member organizations of a democratic movement with a source of sound and thoughtful analysis and factual data. Those involved in planning for local campaigns can abbreviate the format and content to meet their own needs in developing courses of action.

The information contained in a strategic estimate should be constantly updated so that planners can more quickly respond to additional missions and adjust operations plans if significant changes in the operational environment or capabilities occur. To ensure that this task is accomplished, someone should be specifically designated to do it, preferably the same "Strategic Estimates" coordinator who supervised the preparation of the estimate. There should be others to assist in gathering, evaluating and submitting information to be included in the estimate and for identifying information that may no longer be relevant or accurate.

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[11] Quoted in Samuel B. Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 129.

Because of security concerns there may be some portions of the strategic estimate that should be placed in a separate annex. This annex should be available only to those whose "need to know" requires it. For example, information such as organizational personnel strengths, courier routes, or inside contacts could be very sensitive and not relevant to the information needs of most members of opposition groups.

The detailed format of a strategic estimate described in this chapter, derived from the "Military Estimate of the Situation," may not be the format that is chosen by any particular opposition group. It is important, though, that some sort of systematic approach to gathering, analyzing, and displaying the information relevant to the adopted strategy and supporting objectives should be adopted. A strategic estimate, or similar format, serves as a "checklist" of types of information that may be important but may otherwise be overlooked. [See a suggested format for a strategic estimate in Appendix 4.]

Reasoning and Considerations in Developing a Mission Statement

The mission statement (that is, what the movement leadership has determined to be the objectives of the struggle, the type of struggle selected and, in a general way, how the struggle is expected to be waged) is the starting point for the strategic estimate. Consequently, it is appropriate to review how a mission statement for a strategic nonviolent movement estimate should be developed.

If a movement is created as a result of an oppressive government, its goals and objectives will reflect demands to remove the oppressor from power, but the movement should also identify how the existing government will be removed and what form of government is to replace it. The form of government to be selected by public consensus is based on the characteristics of the society that the citizens want in place at the end of the struggle—in other words, a "vision of tomorrow." Unless citizens give some thought to what should replace a repressive regime, they may remove one tyranni-

cal government only to bring another, more despotic government into power. Thus, it is necessary that "visions of tomorrow" be translated into objectives that will result in pragmatic changes.

For example, if there is a national police force, which is often the only "face" of government the people see on a daily basis, and over which the local population has no control, the people may wish to place the local police under the supervision of locally elected officials. The people may also want to influence decisions on political and economic priorities at the local level rather than have all these decisions made in the nation's capital. In short, there may be a consensus for a devolution of power from the center to local government. These issues would suggest that a movement for change include a call for some form of federalism.

The vision of tomorrow should address problems where there have been religious tensions, either due to outright government-supported discrimination or the abuse of one group by another. Mixing religion and politics is always fraught with danger to a democracy, and compromises between the two are always less than satisfactory to those who desire democracy and also to those who want a theocracy disguised as a democracy. But perhaps some basic framework to preclude the government from imposing religious obligations on its citizens can be agreed upon that would not be perceived by most members of religious groups as compromising their personal religious obligations. Such an agreement could be the basis for language to be included in a new constitution.

This consensual vision is then translated into movement goals and political objectives. These, in turn, are translated into more specific strategic objectives. The movement leaders may provide these specific objectives to the planners, or the planners themselves may translate policy objectives and statements into strategic planning objectives. Generalities contained in the "vision" are insufficient statements for planning purposes. For example, while the idea of a "better life for all" is a worthy objective for any opposition movement, it is a goal much too broad to be the appropriate subject for strategic planning. Accordingly, attention should be directed to defining those core issues representing government policy, actions or style of rule

that adversely affect the actual or potential prospect for "a better life" of its citizens. With clearer definitions of the problems to be attacked, resources can be more wisely apportioned.

Identifying the entity that is responsible for the overall planning and coordination and ascertaining those who will publish the planning document are other important elements in a mission statement. A mission statement should begin with the "WHO" that is taking this step in initiating a nation-wide struggle of nonviolent conflict. Nonviolent movements, unlike armed struggle, rarely have a clean hierarchical structure. A common approach to accommodate the disparate interests, capabilities, and personalities of opposition groups is to establish an umbrella organization for the purpose of waging the struggle. By consensus, one member group could be tasked with the responsibility for being the lead organization for planning and coordination. Another option for creating a planning element is that the umbrella organization creates its own "core staff" with representation from all or some members. Initially, it may be best to rally member organizations around issues instead of attempting to unify the organizations themselves. It would be appropriate to consider including the exile community in this umbrella organization so that they too can contribute to the struggle through raising funds, providing special studies or research, lobbying internationally or obtaining media support.

After planners consider all the elements that shape a mission statement for waging a strategic nonviolent conflict, a mission statement is prepared, coordinated, and presented to the members of the umbrella coalition for approval. It may look something like:

> The people of (insert Country) under the Alliance for Democracy (or whoever) will conduct a strategic nonviolent offensive to remove the military dictatorship (citing the exact name of the regime) from power; install a democratically elected government; establish a federal form of government and protect that government from a coup d'état.

Strategic estimates may first appear to be specialized documents that can only be constructed by highly trained individuals. Using the suggested format, portions of the strategic estimate can be di-

vided among numerous people for preparation, allowing virtually anyone to participate in its development. As more and more portions are completed, the planners will begin to see the "big picture" emerging from the details contained in the document. The more experienced and trained the analyst, the more quickly and clearer the "big picture" becomes.

An example of a strategic estimate and a look at its architecture shows its value and demonstrates that its construction is within most groups' capabilities.

The following draft of a working paper using the suggested strategic estimate format (see Appendix 4) was prepared at the Political Defiance Committee (PDC) of Burma in 1992. It was not complete nor was it intended to be used as "the" planning tool for the PDC. Rather, its purpose was to train those designated to prepare the strategic estimate. It may be useful to the reader since it provides explanations on the reasons why many of the categories of information are included in the format and what information may be included within those categories.

ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION

1. MISSION

"The National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) conducts offensive strategic political defiance operations to remove the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) from power; installs a freely elected, democratic, federal government in Rangoon; prevents a coup d'état."

2. THE SITUATION AND COURSES OF ACTION.

(The second paragraph of the estimate contains all the information about the situation in which the mission will be conducted. In this particular example of a strategic estimate [Burma] not only were terrain, transportation, communications and climate and weather examined but also under close scrutiny were the political and mili-

tary situations of both friendly and enemy forces. It is here that assumptions are identified and examined. It is necessary to know as much as possible about what could have an impact on operations. Only when information cannot be acquired, must assumptions, albeit reluctantly, be made. Recall that assumptions are substitutes for facts—no assumption is ever as good as a fact. Yet another consideration is that an estimate of the situation is prepared at each operational level).

A. Considerations Affecting Possible Courses of Action

(1) Characteristics of the Area of Operations

(a) Military Geography

(COMMENT: Why should the National Council of the Union of Burma be concerned about military geography when it is to conduct political defiance operations? The SLORC will respond with military actions, and military geography will give NCUB some clues about how their opposition may attempt to respond. Military geography will also influence the movement and timing of the NCUB's forces and actions.)

1. Topography. (Contour maps provide sufficient information on topography including terrain, built up areas, road and rail networks.)

2. Hydrography. For the NCUB's purposes, river and stream crossings are a concern. Talking to local villagers can help locate the best places to cross streams and rivers at different times of the year. Locals may also tell about little-known crossing sites.

3. Climate and weather. In this situation, common knowledge about the weather is generally sufficient. For example, the common knowledge is that the southwest monsoon generally occurs between June through September and that April and May are very hot, and the humidity is high. (What value could this information have? Planners can take into account the need for additional drinking water and the need to consider what measures to take to avoid participants from being overcome by heat stroke and heat exhaustion. Massive demonstrations in April and May could

be avoided. If demonstrations must be held in April or May, the selection of a time of day, the length of the demonstration, or the issuance of water bottles to demonstrators could well ameliorate the effects of the weather). Newspapers can provide more information about the weather. *The New Light of Myanmar* (formerly the *Working People's Daily*) has daily information on the amount of rainfall in Rangoon. Discussions with people from various parts of Burma to determine how the monsoon affects their activities are potentially important. Does the monsoon affect scheduling of Burma Airways? (Checking the SLORC homepage on the internet for current schedules may provide many answers to the effects of the monsoon.) Does the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) or the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) have historical data on Burma Army operations by month? What patterns can be detected based upon climate and weather? How does the weather and climate affect courier operations? Is there a particular month when a disease becomes more prevalent? Who would know this? First hand experience can be invaluable.

(b) Transportation. What does information about the transportation sector of Burma have to do with Political Defiance? Couriers travel. Coordinators and actionists travel. The Burma Army travels. People go from city to city or village to village. Supplies move along roads and rivers. How long it takes to get from Point A to Point B could be critically important. What forms of transportation are available to friendly and enemy forces? Bus routes in major cities and to and from cities may be useful. Can bus, rail, taxi and boat workers be organized? How are these forms of transportation affected by climate and weather? Can taxis be hired for inter-city movement? Where can planners get answers to these questions? They can begin by looking at schedules for trains, buses, planes and boats, and they can read newspapers and tourist publications, visit train and bus stations, and talk with tourists.

(c) Telecommunications. What technologies are available to SLORC and to the pro-democracy movement? What communications capabilities could be acquired? (Satellite, rapid burst short-wave, mobile fax machines, etc.). Can strategists afford to purchase secure communications equipment? What about using people with uncommon language skills on major nets? Where is the government vulnerable? (Micro-wave, telephone lines, switches, jamming). Computer terminals with modems for faxing directly to or from Europe and America are available for purchase. Where can information on this subject be found? Some non-governmental organizations are familiar with new technologies. Often disgruntled government communications workers will easily answer questions about their jobs. Catalogues on communications equipment often have articles about new technologies. International magazines sometimes have information. Also available are the internet and search engines.

(d) Politics. In this paragraph strategists want to describe the general political framework in which they must operate. Is martial law in effect? How are political decisions made? Does the "wiring diagram" accurately reflect political power relationships? Politics is the object of the struggle, and planners will be working intimately within the political environment. Therefore, they must know the political currents. Can a description of the SLORC strategy toward the pro-democracy movement be formulated? For example, is the SLORC National Convention a part of its strategy? What about the special economic relationship with Thai Generals? Is there a political "center of gravity"? What is the *quid pro quo* regarding the Burma-ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) relationship? Where can astute observers find answers to these questions? Press releases, news reports, personal interviews, reviews of activities, and political polls are good places to start as well as the political analyses by experienced Burma Watchers.

(2) Relative Combat Power

This paragraph of the strategic estimate should not "jump

ahead" and begin to analyze what the information means. Otherwise, the premature analysis will be comparing "apples and oranges" (military and political defiance are two different "weapons systems") and the information may get confusing. This paragraph should be limited to containing just the information that is requested.

(a) Opponent Military

1. Strength. (number, size and types of units). SLORC has stated that it intends to increase force levels to 500,000 and will continue to be primarily a light infantry force with limited air and sea capabilities.

2. Order of Battle. (How it is structured, what units belong to which organizations?). This classification may be important in determining what units respond to actions in certain locations. Also by knowing the order of battle, planners will be able to focus on personality profiles of selected commanders. The Political Defiance Committee (PDC) will be primarily concerned with headquarters of Divisions, Regional Commands and higher.

3. Location and disposition. (Where are these units, how are they deployed, and what are they doing?).

4. Reinforcements. (What units are normally designated to reinforce committed forces—Airborne, Commando, Strike Forces, Air Forces? What are normal reinforcement times for operations 10, 30, 50, 100, 200 miles from garrison location? Time-distance factors for deployment delineate how much time is available for PD [political defiance] operations before the risks become unacceptable).

5. Logistics. (How are units re-supplied? How often is re-supply conducted during contact or without contact? How soon before an operation begins are porters conscripted? Are there established holding areas for porters prior to commencing operations? Are re-supply convoys heavily guarded? Where are the major depots?).

6. Combat Efficiency. (Estimate of training, strength, unit history, casualty rates, and morale. This information is important in designing propaganda themes and dissemination

techniques. Different units have different capabilities. Cite the units being described [22d Infantry Division, 121 Regiment, Armor Brigade]. These citations will allow strategists not only to conduct a pattern analysis, but also to be able to "flag" certain units for special consideration. Defector reports prepared by the CNAB [Committee For Nonviolent Action in Burma] in New Delhi indicate low morale in the Burma Army. Are there other defector reports being prepared and available so that conclusions can be drawn about whether low morale is widespread or just in certain units? What caused the low morale in these units?)

7. Profile of Military. In this paragraph is the placement of information concerning the human make-up of the Burma Army as an institution—education, class, religion, motivation, age range, etc. The information about the location of the enemy's military can be found in newspapers, foreign press and broadcasting, prisoner of war interrogation reports, defectors, escaped porters,[12] the resistance group's own agents and sympathizers, radio intercepts, battle reports, and interviews with friendly military officers who have fought the enemy on several occasions.

(b) Friendly Military. For successful strategic political defiance operations, military forces may be required to isolate their own battlefields for a period of time or they have to create a diversion to permit retrieval of PD teams. The strategists' own military can be very useful in supporting psychological operations against the Burma Army. Therefore, planners should gather the same information as above about their own military forces. Where do they obtain information on friendly military forces? They can begin at the headquarters of the military forces. Very likely, the military commanders will be reluctant to provide information on their own

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[12] It has been common practice for the Burma Army to round up civilians to serve as porters to transport military supplies for combat units on operations. There have been recurring reports over the years of these porters being forced to walk in front of military columns while operating in insurgent-controlled areas to serve as "human mine sweepers." Due to the dangers and hard treatment by the soldiers, many attempt to escape.

strengths and vulnerabilities. This information is quite sensitive so it must be protected. Therefore, appropriate personnel should be able to demonstrate their need to know the information and how that information will be protected at the PDC office. **(COMMENT: For a nonviolent movement to have a military component is a major disadvantage. It interferes with the dynamic of nonviolent struggle, makes recruitment into the movement much more difficult, opens the movement to charges of being a terrorist front for armed struggle, makes it difficult to gain the support of the international community, and invites an increased violent reaction by the regime. The reality is, however, that some opposition groups sometimes refuse to "give up" this option even though they know from experience that the costs far outweigh any advantages gained. If these groups cannot be convinced to transition to nonviolent conflict without an armed component, yet the population under their control or influence is considered essential, the armed activities must be distanced from the movement, and the strategy should consider a phasing out of the use of the military component.)**

(c) Opponent Political Defiance. SLORC has an enormous potential for waging nonviolent struggle. At this point, this potential is not being realized, but it is essential to recognize what that capability could be if a determined effort were made to counter our own operations. Important aspects of SLORC capabilities to be considered are:

1. Strengths

a. Censorship.
b. Ownership of radio, television, and press.
c. Control of all education.
d. Power of purse to influence behavior
e. International recognition and access to world press and other key communicators.
f. Well-trained and extensive intelligence net.

g. World-class communications capability.

2. Weaknesses

a. Incompetent to govern.

b. Despised by the people.

c. No trained strategists.

d. Sponsored a policy of genocide against minorities.

e. Other weaknesses or vulnerabilities.

3. Pillars of Support

a. Burma Army

b. MIS (Military Intelligence Service)

c. Media

d. Foreign Investors

e. Business Community

f. Civil Servants

g. Other (ASEAN, China, etc.)

4. Demographic Considerations

a. General (used in analysis of both sides)

b. Population 45,103,809 (1995 estimate)

c. 0-14 yrs: 36% (female 7,963,544; male 8,285,459)

d. 15-64 yrs: 60%; 65+ yrs: 4%

e. Population growth: 1.84%

f. Birth rate: 28.02 births / 1,000 population

g. Death rate: 9.63 deaths / 1,000 population

h. Population densities occur in Rangoon, Mandalay, and Moulmein.

5. Opponent Political Considerations

a. "Natural allies"

1. Burma Army

2. MIS

3. Civil Servants
4. Business Community
5. China, Singapore, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand
6. Other?

b. Organizations

(COMMENT: Recall that organizations are the basis for "loci of power" i.e., sources of societal power. They can be important in the process of decentralizing power as well as being used by PD strategists to identify pillars of support for neutralization or transfer.)

1. Union Solidarity Development Association
2. Sangha (Buddhist Religious Leadership)
3. Artists and Writers Association
4. Teachers' Organizations
5. Veterans' Organizations
6. Sporting Clubs
7. Others

c. Political fissures

1. Army Commanders and MIS
2. "Moderates and Hard-liners" within SLORC
3. SLORC and Farmers
4. Junior and Senior officers
5. Privates and Non-commissioned officers
6. Others

(d) Friendly Political Defiance Capability. Much of the information about the PD capability can be obtained from those who have been active in the Political Defiance movement and those who are members of the Political Defiance Committee. Information

on organizations, order of battle, locations and disposition of PD coordinators and actionists, recent activities, and numbers is available from PDC members.

1. Pillars of Support

(COMMENT: The Pillars of Support are the focus of our efforts. The opponent pillars of support are the objectives of our attack; friendly pillars of support are our greatest operational resource.)

a. National League for Democracy

b. National Council of the Union of Burma

c. Burmese Young Monks Association

d. Political Defiance Committees

1. Ethnic minority organizations

2. International Community organizations (Open Society Institute, etc.)

3. United Nations

2. Demographic Considerations (Same as for opponent above)

a. Distribution of College graduates (College graduates provide the skills and leadership for political defiance organizations; they will receive different types of information from propagandists. Intellectuals have traditionally been considered a serious threat to tyrants, and rightly so.)

b. Literacy rate by region

c. Ethnic and religious densities. (This information will assist in the selection of actionists and coordinators and provide propagandists appropriate data for designing literature for different groups.)

d. Standards of Living by Region. (If a village has little food, no running water, no electricity, no access to medical care, no cash crops, and no young people remaining, perhaps we should not expect that village to contribute much toward our efforts. We should give them something. Not only something

tangible, but also a vision of what could result when a democratic federal government is established.)

3. Political Considerations

a. "Natural allies"

(COMMENT: Whose interests are being served by served by the NCUB?)

1. Business groups along the Burma borders
2. Students
3. Religious groups
4. Most ethnic nationality groups
5. NLD
6. Environmental groups
7. Human Rights Organizations
8. Others

b. Organizations

(COMMENT: Recall that organizations are the basis for "loci of power". The creators of the strategic estimate must be very objective in assessing the capabilities of its own organizations. They might also include international organizations involved, or that have interests, in Burma.)

1. NLD (National League for Democracy)
2. Pan-Kachin Development Society
3. NCUB member organizations
4. Democratic Voice of Burma
5. FTUB (Free Trade Unions of Burma)
6. RSO (Rohinga Solidarity Organization)
7. UN
8. National Endowment for Democracy

9. International Republican Institute
10. Open Society Institute
11. Other?

c. Political Fissures

(COMMENT: Political fragmentation is widespread within the pro-democracy movement. The most serious disagreements should be identified.)

1. National Coalition Government of Union Burma and DAB
2. NCUB and Rohinga over exclusion
3. NCUB and FTUB over co-ordination
4. NCGUB and NLD-LA over leadership of border
5. Others

4. Security Considerations

a. Effectiveness of Counter-Intelligence. (Is it uniformly effective or are there opportunities for early implementation of PD operations?)

b. Individuals vulnerable for recruitment.

c. Organizational vetting procedures. (What is being done to reduce the opportunity for penetration by intelligence operatives? Pinpointing disinformation, surveillance, and second tier references are examples of some ways to check out recruits.)

d. Communications. (How are messages transmitted? How secure is the system? Couriers, radio, dead drops, receive-only, pre-arranged codes, PGP and other forms of computer communications are examples for evaluation.)

e. Information and document security. One must never underestimate the ability of a regime to penetrate opposition groups. Therefore, a "chain of custody" of all sensitive materials should be established. That is, the movement should keep

a record of everyone who has read these documents and retains a copy of them. There should be continual emphasis on the need to limit sensitive information to only those who "need to know". (In a nonviolent movement there is little information to be considered "secret" and that is information that places people at great risk.)

(3) Assumptions

Looking at the mission and the information that has been obtained, the strategists may have to fill in the blanks with assumptions. They may have to add assumptions as they examine possible courses of action. Effective strategies cannot be based on assumptions. Getting the facts whenever possible is the foundation of a successful nonviolent movement. If assumptions must be made, personnel must make every effort to make sure they are valid. For example:

(a) There will be no military assistance provided to the NCUB by foreign governments.

(b) Influenced by multi-national corporations, western democracies will not take any strong actions against SLORC, but will limit themselves to empty verbal exchanges.

(c) The money from Indonesian and Thai interests to the National Democratic Party headquarters influenced US policy regarding Burma.

(d) Foreign investment is critical for sustained economic growth and political stability in Burma.

(e) Others

At this point in the strategic estimate, strategic developers start using the obtained information and the assumptions that have been made. The next step is the determination of enemy capabilities that could affect the political defiance courses of actions. This intellectual exercise begins in paragraph 2B of the strategic estimate.

B. Opponent Capabilities

By reviewing and analyzing information about the Burma Army, the nonviolent movement can identify its enemy's capabilities that

could affect its own possible courses of action. Conclusions about the capabilities of the Burma Army are that it could:

(1) Re-arrest, murder, or exile Aung San Suu Kyi
(2) Violently suppress major civil unrest in three major population centers without degrading its capa bilities to conduct military operations in the liberated areas.
(3) Obtain the cooperation of Chinese, Indian and Thai military and intelligence organizations to isolate and limit the effectiveness of Burmese pro-democracy groups along the borders.
(4) Jam foreign broadcasts
(5) Attack and seize NCUB/KNU Headquarters

C. Own Courses of Action (CA)

After reviewing the movement's mission one more time and analyzing its own capabilities, those preparing the strategic estimate can develop courses of action that would accomplish its mission. Recall that an effective strategy will distract and dislocate the enemy; that an indirect approach to the objective (with intermediate objectives) is generally most desirable; that nonviolent movements capitalize upon their own greatest strengths to attack the enemy's weakest points; and that at the strategic level, developers engage all of their capabilities.

CA 1. A strategy that would establish PD strong points throughout Burma whose objectives are to:

a. Conduct PD operations to reflect nationwide political instability.
b. Recruit members for pro-democracy groups.
c. Make preparations for a general strike.
d. Present SLORC with multiple, dispersed targets.

CA 2. Other

3. ANALYSIS OF OPPOSING COURSES OF ACTION

In this paragraph is the determination that the effect of each enemy capability has on each of the movement's own courses of action. From the capability used in the example above, the democracy forces would have a problem if a course of action being considered called for a major uprising in Rangoon, Mandalay and Moulmein only without first undermining Burma's Army's obedience to orders.

4. COMPARISON OF OWN COURSES OF ACTION

In this paragraph, the advantages and disadvantages of each course of action (with respect to what is considered to be governing factors) are weighed. For example, a governing factor might be a desire to keep civilian casualties to a minimum.

5. DECISION

The course of action decided upon is translated into a completed operational mission statement.

Summary

This chapter reviews the contents and processes involved in developing a strategic estimate. The strategic estimate is a critical document for a strategic war planner. It is a document that is not quickly prepared, but its development is well within the capability of political opposition groups. A well-prepared estimate reduces the chance of failure by identifying the best course of action to accomplish a mission. The strategic estimate can be a "living" document if it is constantly updated. As in the staff study, format and intense concentration are necessary. A format permits clear thinking—even under pressure.

CHAPTER SEVEN
OPERATIONAL PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS

A fundamental principle is never to remain completely passive.

—Carl von Clausewitiz, *On War*

The various tasks required in the operational planning of a nonviolent struggle at the strategic and tactical levels present multiple challenges for planners. Under the best conditions, there are problems with coordinating loose coalitions whose capabilities are often overestimated and whose expectations are diverse. Consolidating those expectations into common goals becomes a monumental task for the movement's leaders who often have very little experience in strategic analysis and planning. Even communications among these disparate groups is made difficult because many groups have developed their own unique vocabularies for nonviolent struggle or do not understand the concepts underlying the terms normally associated with nonviolent struggle.[13]

Military planning normally occurs within a well-defined hierarchal organizational environment. The organizational environment of a nonviolent movement, however, is normally a coalition of "equals," with all the "equals" vying for the status of being "first among equals." Charges will always circulate among the various groups as to which of them have been penetrated by government agents (while the fact is that probably all have been to one degree or another); there may be disagreement on what form of government should replace the one being opposed; some leaders may be considered by others as too authoritarian, and may, in fact, not be amenable to the limits of power imposed upon government by a democratic society (it wouldn't the first time warlords have assisted in overthrowing a fellow warlord); and some may be involved in the nonviolent struggle until the capacity to wage an armed struggle

[13] See Appendix 1 for a recommended vocabulary of terms for nonviolent struggle prepared by the Albert Einstein Institution.

becomes a realistic option. With such diversity of purpose and mistrust notwithstanding, strategy and supporting plans must still be developed.

Security Concerns

It is prudent to assume that at some point every opposition group waging a struggle against a government will be targeted and penetrated by the regime under attack. While infiltration can be a serious problem, government informants can also be used as a conduit for sending selected information to the government. Information that movement leaders may want conveyed to the regime might include such informant reports that the movement intends to remain nonviolent, that it does not intend to be vindictive, that amnesty for government officials remains an option, that the target of the opposition efforts is the “system” that allows for human rights abuses and corruption and the movement is not against all those who both serve that system and are equally its victims. It might also be useful for the government to “discover” through its own agents that the movement intends to include the personnel in the military, police, and civil service institutions in the new democracy, with the only stipulation being that they acknowledge the authority of the new government and swear allegiance to the new constitution. It may also be useful for the government to “discover” from its own agents that a list of persons who have participated in torture and extrajudicial executions exists. Such agents would be able to report accurately that a dossier existed as to each named individual and that it included specific charges of abuse and other criminal acts, photos of victims that document abuses, and sworn statements of witnesses, including military and police personnel opposed to the government sanctioned oppression and brutality. Too, the government agents working within the opposition movement would be able to convey to their superiors that a duplicate of all such gathered information was safely deposited outside the country for safekeeping.

There are some aspects about a strategic nonviolent struggle that cannot, nor should be, secret. The fact that there is opposition

to tyranny will obviously come as no surprise to a tyrant. Nor would it be surprising to learn that organizations are banding together to resist a tyrant. Most certainly, any authoritarian regime would be aware of the successful nonviolent struggles in recent years and how those struggles were fought.[14] It is also true that operational planning information is time-sensitive, that is, its value is greatly diminished once the operation has been conducted.

Although there are many instances when the government's knowledge of the planning and concept for its struggle can be advantageous to the democratic movement, there are some activities that need to be protected from disclosure to the opponent. In general terms, information to be protected concerns the location or movement of key leaders, those who have detailed knowledge of planned activities involving more than one organization, and others whose lives may be at risk if they are arrested by the government. The Serbian resistance group OTPOR developed a leadership that was unknown to most of its members. The leadership never met as a group but only briefly with one another as was required.

Another approach to distancing the planning element from the movement at large was that used by the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), an umbrella organization of pro-democracy forces opposed to the military dictatorship in Rangoon. It established a Political Defiance Committee (PDC) to develop the capacity to conduct strategic analysis, prepare plans, and to coordinate nonviolent activities of the member groups. The group reported directly to the NCUB leadership.

Value of Organizing Information

Experience has shown that certain categories of information are always needed to assist military commanders in making sound decisions. It is the responsibility of the military staff to make sure that this information is readily available. Rather than waiting to be tasked

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[14] See Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

for these categories of information before gathering them, the staff is always looking for needed information for sound decision-making, analyzing it, and filing categories of information in specific locations within specific documents. Thus, when a general walks into his command headquarters and asks, "What is the enemy doing?" a staff officer can respond with timely information. Thus informed, the general can determine the impact of the opponent's actions on his own plans to achieve his objectives as well as to identify opportunities to initiate further offensive actions.

Planners for nonviolent operations should not overlook the centuries of experience of military forces in planning and executing operations. A major feature of military planning is its systematic approach: developing a strategic estimate of the situation, selecting courses of action, developing clear mission statements, and preparing operational plans. In addition, when formats and standard procedures are followed, the information will be located in the same order within each planning document.

A military operation plan format contains important information about what the opponent and other friendly forces are doing in the area targeted for the operation, the objectives of the plan, and the resources that will be made available. An examination of a military operation plan format provides an example of how information is organized to best meet the needs of those who will be responsible for its implementation. As the outline below demonstrates, it is adaptable for nonviolent planning at every level as well.

A Format for an Operation Plan

1. Situation. The sub-paragraphs below provide a brief description of the operational environment of the target area.

a. Friendly Situation. In this sub-paragraph, information on the activities of friendly elements in the vicinity of the target area is provided. The information is limited to that which should be considered when detailed plans are prepared for the designated tasks for the assigned missions.

b. Enemy Situation. This paragraph provides a description

of the activities that are currently underway by opponent forces in the vicinity of the target area.

2. Mission. This is a statement that clearly identifies the Who, What, Where, When and Why for the operation. There should be no question about who will be responsible for carrying out the mission, the specific objective(s) to be achieved, when the operation is to commence, and why the mission is necessary.

3. Execution

a. Concept of Operation. This sub-paragraph describes how the planner envisions the operation unfolding from start to finish. The reader "sees the thinking" behind the mission. It may include "phasing" which further clarifies expectations:

(1) Phase I. Preparation. This describes those actions to be taken to get the organization(s) that are assigned to the mission fully capable.

(2) Phase II. This describes what will happen from the time the action begins until the objective is achieved.

(3) Phase III. If appropriate, this sub-paragraph and others may be used to identify immediate actions to be taken to consolidate the objective or to describe what follow-on missions may be assigned so that the organization can be thinking ahead about the next mission.

b. Tasks. This subparagraph identifies the specific tasks assigned to participating organizations.

4. Administration and Logistics. This paragraph identifies the administrative and logistic coordination arrangements for obtaining the support available for the operation.

5. Command and Signal. If there are special communications and reporting requirements for this operation, that information would appear in this paragraph. Otherwise, it would contain the very brief "per SOP" (standing operating procedures). For nonviolent operations, this paragraph might better be called "Coordination and Com-

munications" to reflect the need to recognize that there must be communications between those participating in the actions and those responsible for coordinating all the elements involved.

In this format, a paragraph about assumptions is not included. Assumptions made in a plan are deleted when the document becomes an "order" (that is, when the decision is made to implement the order and distribution is made). Reference to annexes to the plan (such as a propaganda support annex) is noted at the end of the document. Distribution of plans and orders involves risks of compromise. Assumptions being made by the nonviolent movement planners would be a significant piece of intelligence for an opposing regime. Merely stating an assumption reveals what is not known, and importantly, what is considered to be important. Assumptions also reveal the quality of analysis available to the plan writer. Annexes will contain detailed information on the movement's capabilities and intentions (such as would be contained in a Propaganda or a Communications Annex) that the opponent could use to pre-empt or neutralize events before the plan or order for them could be implemented.

This particular military-based format is not the only format that can be used for planning. It could be tailored to accommodate almost any organization, or a new one could be developed. However, a format that includes all essential information should be adopted by any organization engaged in struggle for political change. The use of such a format not only guides the development of a complete plan but may also prevent the omission of important information. Moreover, once accustomed to the format, the readers will know where to look in the plan for specific types of information.

Control Measures

To assist in coordinating the activities of several groups during a campaign there are options available to a planner to serve as control measures such as:

1. Time. When a specific event is to occur as a part of a larger opera-

tion, resources that are to be used for other scheduled actions may have to be borrowed from another organization. Thus, it may be appropriate to designate a “not sooner than” or a “not later than” time frame for the event. If the event were to be part of an operation that seeks to reflect a mass action, it would be important to designate an “H-hour” so that every activity occurs simultaneously. Where actions must occur in spite of brutal and heavy police and military presence, “lightning” (hit and run) demonstrations may be planned based upon expected police and military reaction times. In these situations, a demonstration could be planned to accomplish its objectives within a few minutes.

2. Boundaries. A strategy may call for campaigns in different areas, where separation of activities is appropriate. For example, if analysis of information suggests that a particular pillar of support in a province may be more effectively attacked by promoting accommodation rather than coercion, restrictions on certain actions may be imposed in order that very focused activities against that pillar can be pursued.

3. Coordination Points. When more than one organization is present in the same vicinity for a joint effort, there should be a specific place designated for establishing contact for coordination and exchanges of information.

4. Others. Other control measures could be considered such as assembly areas (immediately prior to an event), or rallying points (when a sudden departure from a demonstration site is required). In any case, the idea of using one or more control measures is to reduce the possibility of losing the ability to influence the outcome of the planned event. When control is lost, objectives may not be achieved, chances of casualties increase, and confusion among the participants ensues.

Pull—Don't Push—Pillars of Support

Strategic planning should include efforts to recruit into the democratic opposition friends and relatives of key officials of the tyrant's pillars of support. In this regard, it is important to place emphasis on drawing members of key pillars of support toward the opposition rather than adopting approaches that push them deeper into the center of the regime's power structure. [See Figure 4, Pulling vs. Pushing Pillars of Support]. A tyrant should be faced with a question of the continued loyalty of those who are expected to arrest, intimidate and abuse members of their own families. It is understandably difficult for a commander of a riot control force to unleash the batons, bayonets and vomiting gas when the front ranks of the demonstration contain his son or daughter. Logically, that commander would have to be replaced with a less experienced commander. Logically too, that replaced commander would become a recruitment target for the democratic opposition. The difficulties for the regime are endless as its pillars of support are inexorably eroded.

Capabilities versus Intentions

Another strategic planning consideration is that of capabilities versus intentions. What an opponent is capable of doing does not change suddenly. On the other hand, intentions can change quickly. Plans that take into account capabilities, therefore, can accommodate changes in intention. If focus is given to capabilities, we may be somewhat surprised by a change in employment and deployment of opposing forces, but those changes will not result in paralyzing shock. The strategic estimate provides the strategic planner with a listing of capabilities available to the opponent.

Creating Dilemmas for the Opponent

A carefully thought out strategy will seek to create opportunities for recruitment regardless of how the regime reacts to the democracy

movement initiatives. If the regime cracks down on protesters, it will further alienate the public, increasing prospects for recruiting. If it accedes to any demand or request by the movement, for any reason, the movement declares the conciliation a "victory" based on the movement's growing power to force the regime into compliance with the will of the people, providing another opportunity for recruiting. Planners should always look for opportunities to place the regime in a political dilemma where the only outcomes are unfavorable. Planners should identify strongly held beliefs of the people and provoke the opponent to take actions contrary to those beliefs. Curfews and restrictions against large gatherings, for example, could well interfere with religious and traditional festivals and ceremonies.

The most famous "dilemma action" was the Salt March led by Mohandas Gandhi in 1930 during the Indian movement for self-rule. Gandhi identified an issue that would appeal to every class and caste in India and one that would compel the British colonial government to either arrest him, an act which would "set fire to the whole of India," or not arrest him which would "allow him [Gandhi] to set the prairie on fire."[15]

For over one hundred years, the British imposed a state monopoly on the manufacture of salt. Since it was a dietary necessity, everyone had to buy government-produced salt. Its manufacture required no skill (gather sea water, let it evaporate, and then scrape up the salt), and it was a monopoly easily broken if the people just started making salt for themselves. The government was well aware of the consequences should Gandhi's announced intention of making salt be unopposed. When the government failed to act (it arrested him several weeks after the successful march that destroyed the monopoly), civil disobedience was validated as an effective nonviolent weapon to undermine a government's sources of power.[16]

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[15] *Ibid.*, 88.

[16] For a more detailed examination of Gandhi's approach to strategy, see Gene Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1979).

Summary

Strategic planning begins with a clear objective derived from policy goals. Its effectiveness, in large measure, is dependent upon creating plans that are clear in their intent, keeping missions consistent with capabilities, providing attention to detail, and anticipating responses by the opponent. These plans are best achieved through the use of a systematic approach that includes formats for organizing information.

Chapter Eight
Psychological Operations

The pen is mightier than the sword.

—Edward George Earl Lytton Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873)

Psychological operations (PSYOPS) is the centerpiece of a well-planned strategic nonviolent struggle.[17] Its purpose is to influence attitudes and behaviors of target audiences, mainly through the use of propaganda. PSYOPS has proven its effectiveness time and time again, both in military campaigns and in nonviolent struggles, as a potent weapon to weaken, divide, neutralize and disintegrate an opponent's pillars of support. It is also used to assist in recruitment efforts for opposition groups. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an approach to examining the components and uses of propaganda.[18]

The term "propaganda" has become objectionable to many in recent years, possibly due to its successful use by authoritarian regimes. In the West, it is now called a variety of euphemistic names such as "Information and Education," "media relations," "spin doctoring" and "marketing." No matter the Orwellian label attached, when efforts are made to influence attitudes and behaviors, they are

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[17] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) defines Psychological Operations as "planned psychological activities in peace and war directed to enemy, friendly, and neutral audiences in order to influence attitudes and behavior affecting the achievement of political and military objectives. They include strategic psychological activities, consolidation psychological operations and battlefield psychological activities." The US Department of Defense limits its definition to "foreign audiences." (JCS Pub 1. 1987).

[18] Useful sources for a more detailed examination of propaganda include: Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965); Department of the Army Field Manual 33-5, *Psychological Operations,* 1962; Frederick Irion, *Public Opinion and Propaganda,* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1950); Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion,* (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 2001); Noam Chomsky and David Barsamian, *Propaganda and the Public Mind,* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001).

propaganda.[19] By itself, propaganda for political purposes is not immoral or "evil," any more than advertising for tobacco or soap is evil. Propaganda is the stock and trade of professional lobbyists who hawk their clients' interests to decision-makers in every legislative and executive branch in the world.

Meeting the broad definition of propaganda (influencing attitudes and behaviors) are religious texts such as the *Bible, Torah,* and *Koran;* essays and articles about how government should be structured as in the *The Federalist Papers;* or more sinister documents such as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, and the cigarette ads featuring "Joe Camel" that many believed targeted pre-pubescent children. All of these are examples of propaganda that have directly affected, in positive and negative ways, the lives of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. So, using communication techniques with the intent of changing how we think and act has a long and rich history.

Contrary to the popular saying that "the facts speak for themselves," the truth is that facts only have meaning when they are placed into context. To a condemned prisoner, the striking of a certain hour may mean he has only five hours to live. To the office worker, the striking of the same hour may herald the end of another workday. A factual report that a country has a forty percent unemployment rate may be viewed with much alarm by the already unemployed and cause worry among those still employed. To the leaders of an opposition movement, it may be viewed from the context of new opportunities to cast the government as incompetent, uncaring and corrupt, and to strengthen its membership base from the increasingly disaffected masses. Editorialists, whether writing for a free or controlled press, routinely place "facts" into their editorial

[19] In his preface to *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes,* Jacques Ellul reviews the various definitions of propaganda and finds them all either incomplete or so all encompassing that they do not accurately reflect what he calls a sociological phenomenon. I have used the broader definition cited by Ellul, as adopted by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis: "Propaganda is the expression of opinions or actions carried out by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations."

board's own preferred context for their readers. In a strategic nonviolent struggle, efforts should be made to blame the opponent for all "facts" that adversely affect the population and to identify what must be done to alleviate the problem (and, not surprisingly, always that relief will be political change).

Components of Propaganda

The Target. In general, the whole population can become the target for propaganda. To be most effective, however, the target audience should be broken down into segments in order to tailor the message for each group. Experience and research strongly indicates that effective propaganda is that which is tailored to more limited target audiences. Thus, the desired message to a farmer may be packaged differently from the same message to the student. The major propaganda targets of the nonviolent opposition will be the ruler's pillars of support, with each targeted group and sub-group analyzed as to educational levels, religious beliefs, ethnicity, aspirations, and access to propaganda messages.

The Message. If the objective is to change an attitude or behavior of a population or a group within that population, it is important that the objective be clear about what attitude or behavior is being sought. For example, if a population has accepted as its fate or karma to live under a repressive government, it will be necessary to implant the idea that perhaps it is not "God's Will" that has caused their enslavement. Moreover, the idea that it is within people's power to liberate themselves from tyranny needs to be cultivated. Citizens must also be made aware that there are organized opposition groups that will welcome their support and involvement. Ideally, the message should have a "return address," that is, the public should know what group is sending the message. However, the dissemination of this information may not always be possible.

The Messenger. How the message is to be communicated involves the selection of the vehicle to carry it. The vehicle could be a leaflet,

a radio broadcast, an email, a movie, a speech, a printed book or article, or signs and posters. Rumors can also be effective transmitters of messages. Not to be overlooked is the use of "key communicators" such as religious leaders, opposition political leaders, teachers, barbers and hairdressers, traditional and spiritual leaders, journalists, union spokesmen, business groups, and others who are respected in their own communities.

Feedback. Commercial advertising is probably the biggest user of propaganda. It is used to convince us to purchase tobacco products that insure that we suffer a wide variety of health problems, to eat artery-clogging hamburgers and fries, or lately, to encourage us to beg our family doctor to prescribe specific drugs for our use. Whether or not these advertisements are successful is easy to measure—sales. For political propagandists, the feedback on the message is more often difficult to measure in the short-term. Polling, if expertly carried out by trustworthy groups and accomplished at intervals of time and events can be useful. Other times, we must wait until the target demonstrates an attitudinal change in expressing a view on the message or acting in a manner consistent with the message. Even these measurements can be deceptive since other factors may have influenced the changed attitude or action.

Another way to obtain data for measuring effectiveness is to elicit opinions. Eliciting is quite different from soliciting a response. Eliciting involves getting the response with the respondent's not realizing he is providing information that answers a specific question. Soliciting involves asking the respondent a specific question that requires a specific answer. For example, to solicit attitudes toward the government, surveys could be taken based on a list of questions such as "Do you support the political opposition calls for a regime change? If so, why?" In some societies, the public may be fearful of truthfully answering such direct questions. To elicit that information, one might begin with questions and comments about the current economic situation and how it impacts on the respondent and his family and then "walking around" the target questions by relating them to the subject the interviewee has already discussed. In

other words, elicitation takes the "indirect approach" and avoids questions that require only "yes and no" answers.

Classification of Propaganda

Depending upon the intended targets, messages, and the operational environments in which they are to be sent and received, choices must be made about who should be identified as the source of the information.[20]

White propaganda accurately identifies its source. Press releases, speeches, reports and news often are truthful in source identification, permitting verification by the target. For example, "The Honorable John Smith, MP from Southmore, in a speech presented to the Association of University Professors, said today that...." Since the remarks made can be verified and analyzed, care should be taken to anticipate how those comments are likely to be received and evaluated. Sometimes a selected quote can be embarrassing to the source who can explain that it was taken out of context. If, however, the source must use this "out of context" explanation for several quotes, credibility becomes a more damaging issue than the quote. On the other hand, identifying the source can strengthen the image of a person or organization by demonstrating both a consistency of views and an appreciation of the public's concerns.

Grey propaganda does not specifically identify its source. Rather than identifying the source, one might see: "It was reported yesterday that ..." or "reliable sources report that..."or "eye-witnesses said they saw...." It attempts to appear authoritative and to avoid appearing as partisan propaganda.

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[20] The US military uses a more restrictive definition of white, grey and black propaganda with respect to applications. See *US Army Field Manual 33-5 Psychological Operations*, 1962. 31-33. Jacques Ellul in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitude*s describes two categories, white and black, and notes they are used in combination. He describes how the white propaganda, whose source is open and above board, is used to divert public attention while black propaganda, which "tends to hide its aims, identity, significance, and source," seeks to influence the public covertly. 15.

Black propaganda is propaganda information that purposefully misidentifies its source, usually the opponent, who is falsely credited for the information. "On Tuesday evening, Army Commander Wilford Ego, the President's most trusted advisor, when asked about the President's apparently erratic behavior at a recent press conference, confirmed that...." It can be used to generate distrust and confusion within an opponent's forces, lower morale, and divert attention from one's own vulnerabilities or intentions. Black propaganda requires great skill and access to a great deal of information about the opponent. In general, it should be used only at the strategic level to avoid exposure of the propagandists and to maintain a separation between white and black propaganda campaigns.

Communication Techniques

The Symbol. Symbols can be powerful devices for communicating the ideology and objectives of a movement. An effective symbol is simple, suggestive, recognizable and easily understood. The Nazi Swastika, the Christian Cross, and the closed fist of the Serbian resistance movement are examples of symbols. Symbols may also be sounds such as drums, and recently, the clanking of pots and pans. Other combined symbols could include some action, such as a special handshake, or gesture. In selecting a symbol for a movement, care must be taken to avoid offending cultural sensitivities.

The Slogan. The slogan should be a short phrase that expresses emotions such as anger, hate, defiance or courage. "Remember the Alamo" stirred Americans to war with Mexico; "Remember the Maine" provided a simplistic justification to the American public to support initiating the Spanish-American War; "He is Finished" was used against the Milosevic regime in Serbia in 2000. In Zimbabwe, the Movement for Democratic Change adopted the slogan "ENOUGH" that was used to mobilize opposition to the brutal regime of Robert Mugabe.

Music. Music, as propaganda, can be used to garner emotional images of a brighter future, bring back the pain and memories of past sufferings, and help solidify general defiance against present tyranny. When people join together in singing songs designed with propaganda overtones, they tend to reinforce one another into the acceptance of the intended propaganda message.

Print Media. Print media includes books, newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, signs and posters, providing the propagandist a menu of options to communicate the selected messages to a variety of audiences. Both government and opposition "controlled" newspapers constitute a readily available platform for delivery of offensive and defensive propaganda efforts. Care must be taken, however, to avoid falling into the trap of spending too much effort on being on the defense.[21] The real advantage of these forms of printed materials is that it permits careful reading and study, as well as discussion about a source document of the movement. Signs and posters using pictures, symbols, slogans, and colors are used to send encapsulated messages. The audiences can save print media, which means that messages should be consistent with respect to propaganda objectives because comparisons will surely occur. Therefore, the propagandist must rely on authoritative policy objectives that have been thoughtfully selected. It should not be the responsibility of the propagandist to decide questions of policy.

Audio/Visual. The key to the effective use of the radio for delivery of propaganda is to select the audience to be targeted and to craft the message for that audience, at the same time providing inducements to listen to the message. Popular music, news, weather reports, sports, health, and especially information about nonviolent actions occurring abroad as well as in the target country—all of these

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[21] Carefully prepared propaganda reduces the amount of effort expended in responding to counter-propaganda. Loss of the propaganda initiative may result if the likely response of the opponent is not considered in the preparation of the message.

may be topics of interest to the target group. Television, videotapes and CDs add pictures to reinforce the spoken word. If a leader is making a speech, consideration should be given to what objects and symbols are also visible. A national flag may lend an aura of authority. A photograph of a revered historic figure helps to connect the speaker to a legitimate relationship with a nation's history. It may be appropriate to consider in detail what clothing and accessories are to be worn. Hitler, when he wished to portray himself as a father figure for the German people, wore a suit or other civilian clothing and often had children in the photo. When he portrayed himself as the nation's military leader who would lead the Germans to victory, he appeared in a uniform.

Rumors. Where there is a lack of credible information, such as happens under a corrupt, authoritarian regime where censorship is imposed, rumors provide an important segment of information—even though their source is unknown and the information cannot be verified. If rumors are a part of an overall propaganda effort, it is important that the rumor be based upon at least a slim, factual basis, or at least could be perceived as being based upon known or suspected facts. The subject of rumor should be of importance to the target, and it should be interesting so that others will repeat it. Rumors can be used to raise or lower the morale of the target audience, or engender emotions such as hate, disgust or admiration.

Warning!

In strategic nonviolent struggle, propaganda is used to mobilize the public to defy the government that oppresses them. By changing public attitudes toward obedience, civil disobedience may become widespread. Authority or legitimacy is removed from the regime. The public is provoked to ignore unjust laws. To reverse the atomization of society brought about by government oppression, new organizations are created to replace ones destroyed by the government, and those organizations seek to destroy or neutralize the institutions and organizations on which the government depends (pil-

lars of support). In short, the regime loses its ability to govern.

With such a powerful weapon as propaganda, there is always a danger that, if it is not skillfully employed, the collateral damage can be enormous. If a movement is successful in changing the obedience patterns to disobey, defy and ignore government laws and regulations, it may find itself facing anarchy. If the institutions of society have been destroyed, the maintenance of social services, law and order, and civility may not be possible without reverting to the very same authoritarian rule that was the basis for the democratic struggle in the first place.

Jacques Ellul, in his book *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Minds,* addresses this important issue facing the propagandist. He divides propaganda into two categories. The first is "propaganda of agitation" which is used to motivate the public to action and disobedience. The second is "propaganda of integration." This is propaganda to instill conformity in society to gain acceptance of the authority and values of the new rulers. It seeks to demonstrate that the public is benefiting from the changes that are occurring.[22]

The conclusions to be drawn from Ellul's insights include the requirement that a code of conduct or guidelines be developed and enforced for participants in the struggle. Rather than calling for general disobedience, disobedience to specific unjust laws and regulations would be more appropriate. Additionally, propaganda should strongly and frequently remind the public that obedience is being withdrawn from the government and transferred to the democracy movement. It is necessary that alternative or parallel institutions be in existence to accept the transfer of public loyalty. It may be possible to transfer the loyalty of entire organizations *en bloc.*

Hate and prejudice are two of the strongest emotions and are the easiest to ignite. In some societies, these emotions are always waiting to surface. Any short-term gains resulting from igniting these passions against groups of people are minuscule compared to the long-term damage to developing and sustaining a stable, civil society in which democratic institutions can function. It is better for

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[22] Ellul, *Propaganda.* 71-79.

democratic movements that these emotions not be ignited at all. But if they surface, they should be directed against the "system" that permits tyranny rather than those groups who benefit from it. And, by limiting the term "enemy" to that one person or group at the pinnacle of power, destructive passions will likely accompany the leader to his death, exile or imprisonment.

Summary

The use of propaganda to influence attitudes and behaviors of people can, and has been, used by both authoritarian and democratic forces in the struggle for political power. Propaganda, itself, is neither good nor evil. It is how this tool is used and for what objectives that moral judgments can and should be directed.

Chapter Nine
Insights into Strategic Thinking

For great aims we must dare great things.

—Carl von Clausewitiz, *On War*

One effective way to learn how to think strategically is to follow the example of military establishments where a mentorship follows extensive professional schooling. A military track is not available to civilians, and those who are engaged in nonviolent struggle would rarely have the time or resources to spend years of study to sharpen their strategic thinking skills. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to a few examples of insights of selected strategic thinkers that may be helpful in developing a familiarity with "big picture" thinking. Machiavelli, Clausewitz, Gandhi, and Liddell Hart have been chosen for their insights, but there are many others whose ability to think strategically would be just as helpful.

Machiavelli

> ***If the various campaigns and uprisings which have taken place in Italy have given the appearance that military ability has become extinct, the true reason is that the old methods of warfare were not good and no one has been able to find new ones. A man newly risen to power cannot acquire greater reputation than by discovering new rules and methods.***
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> **—**Machiavelli, *The Prince.*

Nicolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) grew up when major economic and social changes were occurring in Europe.[23] The transition from barter to money economies had promoted the centralization of power. Monarchs, in alliance with merchants, acquired greater wealth, and that wealth allowed the creation and use of mercenaries. Thus, rulers became less dependent upon land barons for the

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[23] Robert Maynard Hutchins, ed., *Great Books of the Western World,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 23: ix-x.

services of conscripts who were often only available when they were not needed for planting and harvesting crops. This wealth also permitted the purchase of a relatively new weapon, the cannon, which overwhelmed the fortifications of less affluent rulers.

Among the changes that had occurred in struggles for power, Machiavelli noted major problems with the use of mercenaries. True, rulers were no longer dependent upon knights and vassals. Mercenaries also had an added advantage in that they could be used to suppress opposition within the ruler's own country, and they could undertake long campaigns without the risk to agricultural production income. Yet, Machiavelli observed that, despite advantages inherent in the use of mercenaries, they also posed inherent risks and disadvantages. Purchased soldiers fought for gold, not for their god, their king or their country, and neither loyalty in general nor courage in battle was ever certain—nor enforceable.

Machiavelli also noted that new organizations and tactics were required to counter the use of cannons and that citizen soldiers, recruited from rural areas, would better serve the ruler and would fight harder than mercenaries. He also saw that the heavy expenses for waging war meant that wars must be fought "quick and sharp" to avoid making the ruler a pauper and to avoid creating too much resentment among the people.[24]

Machiavelli's advice in *The Prince* about the need for despotic governments to kill their enemies to avoid acts of revenge is often cited. However, this strategic thinker came to other conclusions more relevant to today's advocates of more open societies. For example, he believed that once a ruler was secure in power, a republican form of government was best. He also reasoned that a government could be secure and long lasting only if it had, in addition to a citizen army, checks and balances on political power.

Machiavelli discovered the link between politics and the social and economic conditions of his times and recommended changes to accommodate those forces that had destroyed the institutions of the

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[24] Felix Gilbert "The Renaissance of the Art of War," in *Makers of Modern Strategy From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age,* Peter Paret, ed., (Princeton University Press, 1968), 11-31.

feudal era. He was able to see the “big picture” and to describe it accurately. He was a pragmatist. His insight, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, has relevance that is often ignored. During World War I, it seemed that the commanders were following strategies and tactics developed prior to the development of machine guns and heavy and accurate artillery. How else could one explain such heavy casualties for so little gains on the Western Front? The quote also suggests that if what is being done is not working, doing more of the same will not bring success.

Just as artillery changed the nature of war in Machiavelli’s time, technology has given us capabilities to change the way nonviolent conflicts are waged. Computers, internet access, mobile and satellite phones, encryption programs, television, and radio are major weapons of nonviolent struggle.

In preparing to wage a strategic nonviolent struggle, understanding those links between politics and the social and economic forces is critically important. Today, we must see these forces, not just within a country, but also the ones that are external, for globalization has provided opportunities to expand the battlefield far beyond what Machiavelli could have imagined.

A strategic nonviolent struggle is a conflict waged in a manner that allows the people to liberate themselves. They constitute the “citizen army” in Machiavelli’s recommended concept for waging war. If the people do not participate in the struggle for their own democracy, it is unlikely they will be able to withstand the challenges of sustaining their freedom. The process of waging nonviolent conflict is a self-democratizing process for the people. They experience the importance of grass-roots leadership, cooperation among groups, and the identification of goals and objectives.

Machiavelli’s insight that war must be “quick and sharp” may not always be possible in a nonviolent struggle, but its underlying intent certainly applies. Paramount to speed and decisiveness is momentum. The nonviolent strategist must, of course, keep in mind that resources and a people’s endurance are finite and that a strategy should mobilize the public, attack the opponent’s sources of power, and achieve victory within a reasonable period of time. Ide-

ally, a nonviolent blitzkrieg would occur wherein the opponent's pillars of support quickly collapse leaving the regime with no means to govern. It would be rare, however, for a nonviolent movement, at its beginning, to possess the coordination, planning skills, discipline and resources to carry out such campaigns.

Clausewitz

Carl von Clausewitz, son of a Prussian Army Officer, was born in 1780. Early in his military career, Clausewitz acquired a friend and mentor, General Gerhard von Scharnhost, who recognized his ability and was able to obtain assignments for Clausewitz which permitted his development as a master of the theory and practice of war. In 1818, he was promoted to Major General and became head of the Prussian War School until shortly before his death in 1831, from cholera. During this period he wrote, *On War* (Vom Kriege).[25]

On War was not intended to be a checklist for the conduct of war. It is a philosophical appraisal of war. Clausewitz understood that the French Revolution, and its heir, Napoleon, had profoundly changed the conduct of warfare. From the careful maneuvering of small armies, war became a contest of mass armies seeking decisive victories and accepting enormous losses on both sides (*War is an act of violence, pushed to its utmost bounds.*) Rather than providing guidance on how to conduct war, Clausewitz provided insights on how to think about war. He noted that grand strategy (which includes diplomatic, economic and political guidance), is ultimately the responsibility of the political leadership.[26] In developing their military strategy today, commanders often have limits placed upon them to ensure that policy objectives and priorities are secured. These constraints are imposed through such measures as allocating re-

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[25] Peter Paret, "Clausewitz" in *Makers of Modern Strategy From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, Peter Paret, ed., (Princeton University Press, 1968), 186-211.
[26] Hans W Gatzke, Introduction to *Principles of War* by Carl von Clausewitz, Hans Gatzke, trans. and ed. (Harrisburg:Military Service Publishing, 1952), 1-10.

sources, defining the theatre of operations, issuing rules of engagement, and assigning objectives.

Just as Clausewitz and Machiavelli appreciated the changes in the nature and conduct of war that had occurred, so too must strategists for nonviolent movements understand and appreciate major changes that influence the conduct of nonviolent conflict. Probably the most important factors affecting strategic conflict have been advances in science and technology. For example, the speed of movement of people, things, information and, most importantly, ideas is a direct result of advances in science and technology.

As governments become more centralized, they can exercise more control over their populations through restrictive laws, through increased surveillance, and through more efficient police forces. And, to a lesser degree, we have witnessed the growth and effectiveness of countervailing pressures on governments by non-government organizations and institutions, as well as by foreign governments and multi-national corporations. Some of these organizations exist primarily to influence governments in the pursuit of their own, sometimes very narrow, interests.

In strategic nonviolent struggles, as in armed conflict, the "battlefield" has been expanded to include other countries. A source of power for an authoritarian regime in one country may be a multinational corporation whose headquarters and major stockholders are located in another country. Attacking that source of power could include actions at stockholder meetings, in courtrooms, on editorial pages, on university campuses, or through boycotts or protests in the streets. Allies are also found outside the boundaries of the state. United Nations organizations, Amnesty International, Doctors without Borders, Journalists without Borders, and the National Endowment for Democracy, for example, are only some of the potential allies and friends for democratic movements.

While *On War* provides the reader with a philosophical appraisal of war, it is Clausewitz's insights on war that should be of interest and value to those waging a nonviolent conflict.

The political object is the goal, war is the means of reaching it, and means can never be considered in isolation from their purpose.[27]

The objectives of nonviolent conflicts generally include freedom and democracy, respect for human rights, and rule of law as objectives of their struggle; thus the "means and ends" are not only compatible but mutually reinforcing. Terrorism, which has as its purpose to instill fear among the population, is incompatible as a means to achieve democracy, as it does not promote democracy or any values conducive to civil society. Conventional military action against a regime by opposition forces, in which the oppressor invariably has the overwhelming advantage over civilian resisters, offers, at best, the possibility of a stalemate at a cost of enormous casualties, both military and civilian, along with significant economic costs. Guerilla warfare almost always results in massive civilian suffering at the hands of all of the warring parties. The oppressor understandably views the civilians as enemy combatants, seizes food and other supplies, destroys crops, relocates civilians into well guarded compounds, conducts extensive interrogations of the population, and declares a national emergency that rescinds any rights and protections that may have existed prior to the conflict. The guerillas, on the other hand, view the civilian population as its own source of taxes, food, recruits, and intelligence. Suspected government informers are often treated harshly to make examples of what will happen to others who do not support the guerrilla efforts. To the suffering population, there is little difference between these warring parties—both are viewed as brutal, plundering oppressors.

Tactics constitute the theory of the use of armed forces in battle; strategy forms the theory of using battle for the purposes of war.[28]

This insight can be overlooked as the tempo of a struggle increases, and tactical decisions are made without reference to the cho-

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[27] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 73.
[28] Quoted in Peter Paret, "Clausewitz", *Makers of Modern Strategy,* Paret ed., 190.

sen strategy. Strategy determines what engagements are to be fought. The idea that nonviolent strategy is a result of the nonviolent actions that have already occurred reflects an ignorance of strategic thinking. The resources for a nonviolent struggle will invariably be in short supply. To employ them without strategic purpose is to accept risk without possible gain.

Strategy, however, is nothing without battle, for battle is the raw material with which it works, the means it employs.[29]

The best nonviolent strategy, too, "is nothing" if there are no actions and campaigns undertaken to implement it. If the raw material for strategy is battle, then the "raw material" for nonviolent battle is people, organized, trained, and skillfully led. Depending upon objectives and existing capabilities, organizations must have the capacity to engage the opponent with protests, acts of noncooperation, and intervention. Where there is a shortfall in capabilities needed to achieve identified objectives, training may be necessary to build up the capacity for successful engagements. Oppression, to be defeated, must be confronted with action.

War is an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.[30]

Just as bombs, artillery, tanks and infantry, properly deployed, can be successful, so too can methods of nonviolent struggle compel an opponent to "do our will." A well-designed strategy with supporting plans and trained leaders at the grassroots level constitutes a powerful force that removes the very sources of power required for the continued existence of a regime. Sometimes nonviolent struggle movements will seek negotiations with the opponent as the objective of the struggle. This could be a strategic error for several reasons, including the fact that negotiations may not result in decisive victory. Negotiations should be viewed as possible "means," but not the "end."

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[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 73.

A nonviolent movement will lose its momentum if people are asked to cease offensive operations to support negotiations. The side seeking negotiations is generally perceived to be unable or unwilling to continue the struggle, and thus it is unable to "compel" the adversary to its will. Therefore, if negotiations are being considered as an intermediate objective of the strategy, it may be appropriate to have a third party call for negotiations. Before seeking a negotiated settlement, leaders of the nonviolent movement should have the ability to compel compliance with conditions agreed upon at the negotiating table. If not, then they will lose at the conference table what they might have won by continuing the struggle. When the nonviolent force has gained enough power to coerce the regime to the negotiating table and to enforce the terms of any agreement, the regime is already weakened.

The smaller the penalty you demand from your opponent, the less you can expect him to try and [to] deny it to you; the smaller the effort he makes, the less you need make yourself. Moreover, the more modest your own political aim, the less importance you attach to it and the less reluctantly you will abandon it if you must.[31]

As mentioned in earlier chapters, in the early stages of a nonviolent struggle for political reforms, it would be imprudent for the nonviolent struggle group to make non-negotiable demands on its government that cannot be enforced. Demands on any opponent should be consistent with the capability to impose that change. Rather than chance a failure in attaining major demands, a better strategy is to choose minor issues that have a high probability for success. Moreover, low-risk, apparently nonpolitical issues may be viewed as non-threatening, or slight, and are not likely to result in a crackdown. The accommodation mechanism described in Chapter 4 is suitable for use in these situations. These types of issues could also be candidates for "bargaining chips" in possible negotiations since a compromise on them may not have a serious impact on the movement.

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[31] *Ibid.*

A key consideration in planning offensive engagements is to know when to declare a victory in order to avoid unnecessary confrontations with the opponent on his terms. If the objectives of a particular action have been achieved, careful consideration of potential risks is needed before attempting to push for more objectives. Regarding this basic tenet of knowing when to claim a victory, an argument could be made that in 1989 the students at Tiananmen Square should have declared a victory and dispersed before the Army attacked with tanks and infantry. Instead of consolidating a partial, but significant, victory, the movement suffered a defeat, losing much that had been gained in the preceding weeks.

Gandhi

No discussion of strategic nonviolent conflict can ignore the effectiveness of the leadership of the early twentieth century Indian independence movement. Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948) was born in India and trained as a lawyer. He went to South Africa in 1893, and while there participated in anti-discrimination protests. He returned to India in 1915 and joined in the nationalist struggle for independence.

Gandhi demonstrated one of the most fundamental characteristics of a leader—continued commitment to a sound strategy in the face of adversity. If a strategy is based upon careful analyses of the situation and a correlation of forces, a leader may change his tactics, but he should not waver in his commitment to that strategy in the confusion of battle. Gandhi met that particular requirement of generalship. He had discovered an insight into political power. He knew that insight was true, and for over a half a century he never wavered from it. That truth was that “a ruler cannot rule if the people do not obey.” From that truth, he developed a conceptual framework and outline of a comprehensive program, which undermined Britain’s ability and willingness to continue its rule over India.

Gandhi was neither the first nor the only person to conclude that rulers are powerless without the support and cooperation of the people. Gene Sharp in his *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* refers to

a French philosopher in the 1500s, Etienne de la Boëtie.

At 18 Boëtie wrote:

> ...if they [tyrants] are given nothing, if they are not obeyed, without fighting, without striking a blow, they remain naked and undone, and do nothing further, just as a root, having no soil, the branch withers and dies.[32]

In 1908 Leo Tolstoy described the essential paradox of British imperialism and voluntary servitude. Addressing the specific problem in India, Tolstoy wrote in his “Letter to a Hindu”:

> A Commercial company enslaved a nation comprising two hundred millions. Tell this to a man free from superstition and he will fail to grasp what these words mean. What does it mean that thirty thousand men...have subdued two hundred million...? Do not the figures make it clear that it is not the English who have enslaved the Indians, but the Indians who have enslaved themselves?[33]

Gandhi, in 1920, expressed much the same thing: “No government—much less the Indian government, can subsist if the people cease to serve it.”[34]

Gandhi believed the root causes of Indian submission to British rule were due to historical and cultural influences. To overcome the corruptive consequences of submission to British rule, Gandhi developed a “Constructive Program” that if successfully pursued would replace the personality of submission with individual and collective self-respect, and find expression in the capacity and willingness of the Indian people to demonstrate disobedience and noncooperation with their occupying rulers. The five goals of the program were to:

- Promote the transformation of Indian people to self-respect and dignity;

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[32] Quoted in Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* I: 34.
[33] *Ibid.*, I:13.
[34] Quoted in Sharp, Footnote, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist,* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1979), 44.

- Encourage a decreased reliance upon British institutions;
- Pursue an active struggle for independence;
- Keep the "people" (British and their Indian supporters) distinct from "policy";
- Seize and maintain the moral high ground by improving the individual and collective moral stature of Indians.

Each component or goal of the program could individually be pursued and would collectively synergize the whole of the noncooperation effort. The involvement of all segments of Indian society was considered essential. As citizens made progress in each component, their self-confidence increased, and they understood their own sense of purpose and their role in the movement.

The vehicle for carrying out the nonviolent struggle envisioned by Gandhi was the *Satyagraha* (generally translated as "Truth-force"), a type of principled civil disobedience against unjust laws that included the concept of *ahimsa*, the notion that no harm should be done to any living thing.

Gandhi's *Satyagraha* was a firm commitment to Truth. It was perseverance to a just cause pursued through nonviolent action. It was not passive resistance. To the contrary, it was based on action. It attacked the oppressor by removing sources of power through collective acts of noncooperation and disobedience. At the same time, *Satyagraha* included conversion efforts to "change the heart" of the oppressor to see the injustice inflicted upon the people. Ideally, only individuals who accepted nonviolence as their personal creed conduct *Satyagraha*, but Gandhi, facing the realities of an imperfect world, did not exclude nonbelievers from participating in the nonviolent struggle. Gandhi also discovered that even those who have practiced violence might quickly adapt to the requirements of nonviolent struggle. Therefore, *Satyagraha* could be both a policy of the National Congress and, at the same time, be a creed of many individuals within the movement.

Sir Basil Liddell Hart

Sir Basil Liddell Hart (1895-1979) saw combat as a British Army officer during WW I. Subsequent to his medical retirement from the service, he became a military correspondent for several leading British newspapers and wrote extensively on military subjects. Of particular interest here is his strategic insight in his principle of limited aims or the "indirect approach." Instead of attacking the opponent where it is the strongest, Hart urged that intermediate objectives be targeted to draw the enemy from its strong points and distract it from pursuing its own objectives.[35]

He elaborated:

> The more usual reason for adopting a strategy of limited aim is that of waiting for a change in the balance of force—a change often sought and achieved by draining the enemy force, weakening him by pricks instead of risking blows. The essential condition of such a strategy is that the drain on him should be disproportionately greater than on one's self.... by causing an excessively wide distribution of his force; and last but not least, by exhausting his moral and physical energy.[36]

Liddell Hart's observations are readily applicable to strategic nonviolent movements against well-entrenched authoritarian regimes. This is especially true in the earlier stages of opposition movements when their forces would not have obtained the necessary resources and collective skills to pose an immediate and credible threat to authoritarian rule. When Liddell Hart used the words "waiting for change in the balance of force," he followed with specific suggestions on how to force that change. Similarly, for nonviolent movements, "waiting" does not mean inaction; rather, it means that offensive actions need to be taken that will weaken the opponent and will force changes in the balance of power that favor the

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[35] "Sir Basil Liddell Hart" Infoplease Online Encyclopedia 30 Nov. 2003 (http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0829707.html).

[36] Basil Liddell Hart, *Strategy*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956), 335.

nonviolent movement. By selecting intermediate objectives that avoid direct confrontations with the opponent where it is the strongest, indirect attacks draw the opponent away from strong points and distract it from pursuing its own objectives.

Summary

In this chapter, selected insights of four strategists are examined to demonstrate what factors influenced their thinking and to emphasize their consistent focus on objectives. The applicability of these insights to modern nonviolent conflict is also discussed. In every case, the strategist must be able to see the forest, not merely the trees.

CHAPTER TEN
FEAR

Fearlessness may be a gift, but perhaps more precious is the courage acquired through endeavor, courage that comes from cultivating the habit of refusing to let fear dictate one's actions, courage that could be described as 'grace under pressure'—grace that is renewed repeatedly in the face of harsh, unremitting pressure.[37]

—Aung San Suu Kyi

Fear of physical harm is an emotion experienced by all human beings during their lives. While the frequency and intensity of this emotion varies, so too does its impact on our mind and behavior. A primary reason that people obey a tyrant is fear of sanctions for disobedience. Fear of physical pain is fear of a greater magnitude than fear of losing one's job or government pension. Fear of losing one's life is an innate fear forgotten only by those who are driven by a maternal instinct to protect a child no matter what the risk. What some fail to understand is that fear is a normal response to a perceived threat. It is a response that is genetically imbedded in our brain to protect against, or survive, life-threatening encounters. Fear is an instinctive response of the entire animal kingdom to a threat and, therefore, has no moral value attached to it. There is no shame in being afraid.

The value of fear is that upon detection of fearful stimuli, we are alerted to the possibility of physical danger, and our body instinctively prepares itself for action. Instinct provides us with two courses of action—flight or fight, with flight being given priority. This response is often observed in the animal kingdom when, to avoid danger, an animal will run away when it detects a danger. If it is surprised and cannot flee, it will "freeze" and remain motionless in the hope that the predator will not see it and go on its way. Only as a last resort, will the animal strike out viciously in self-de-

[37] Aung San Suu Kyi, *Freedom From Fear and Other Writings,* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 184.

ense. Human beings, endowed with the ability to see beyond an immediate threat, can use rational thought, rather than instinct, to guide their response to danger. By understanding the causes and effects of fear, we can prepare for anticipated fearful situations to reduce the primordial effects of fear on our behavior.

Physiology of Fear

The physical characteristics of fear result from an increased discharge of neurons of the sympathetic division of the nervous system. This causes blood vessels to contract in the skin and intestinal tract, thus releasing more blood to flow to the heart (raising blood pressure) and muscles. Fear also causes the heart to beat faster and stronger and the respiratory rate to increase (sending more oxygen to the muscles). Sympathetic stimulation causes the adrenal medulla to pour out adrenaline, which, with other hormones, causes the release of large quantities of glucose from the liver into the blood stream, the latter providing the extra energy source for the muscles.

While these preparations for combat are underway, the body is also preparing itself to survive potentially fatal wounds. The sphincters, those muscles at the end of the intestines and bladder, relax, sometimes causing involuntary defecation and urination.

Human beings experience these effects. We have even verbalized them. For example:

"He got COLD FEET!" The blood rushes away from the extremities toward the most important organs needed for survival.

"The hair raised up on the back of my neck."

"I was scared stiff."

"I peed in my pants" or "I shit in my breeches".

Embarrassing, yes. But we should not be ashamed that Mother Nature's preservation instincts are working properly.

Overcoming the Effects of Fear

Strategic nonviolent struggle requires collective action on the part of the population. This means that the public must overcome the

effects of fear in order to confront the violent sanctions a regime may impose upon them. Of course, if fearful stimuli could be avoided, the train of events that characterize fear would not occur. As a practical matter, however, closing our eyes, covering our ears, and drugging our senses would keep the public atomized and acting as individuals.

It may be appropriate in planning a confrontation to keep in mind the concept of fleeing fearful stimuli and to consider actions that avoid engaging the opponent on its terms. Pragmatic approaches to reducing the number of incidences that trigger overwhelming fear can be designed. An example of this effort to reduce fear among participants in a nonviolent struggle might well include selecting the time and place for a demonstration, as well as quickly declaring a "victory" and dispersing prior to the attack by the riot forces of the regime. Yet another way to allay fear of participating in a nonviolent struggle could be by conducting multiple events in nearby towns that may force the police to divide its forces, and thus reduce the number of police available for each event.

Surprise often results in panic. By preparing nonviolent actionists for the event, surprise can be avoided. Included in these preparations are explanations to clarify the objective of the action, to identify accurately possible counter-measures by the police or military forces, to plan carefully the action, and when possible, to rehearse the parts of key participants. It is appropriate to explain to the participants what they will likely see (movements of government forces), hear (batons banging against shields, bayonets being attached to rifles, etc.) and what activities will be occurring within the ranks of the protesters.

Providing each participant with guidelines for action is a major step in promoting discipline. Concerted, coordinated action, under pressure, is impossible without a degree of discipline. Participants need to be reminded of the difference between the actions of a mob and the actions of a nonviolent force for change. As students in school, all of us have experienced "fire drills" where the students are led in single file through the halls and doorways to an outside assembly area. Within one or two minutes a hundred or

more students are moved to a safe area. The teachers knew what needed to be done and how to do it, and the students obeyed. Compare this disciplined action to what has happened when fires have broken out in theatres or nightclubs. Panic seized the individuals and hundreds of patrons tried to exit through the doorways at the same time. The result is that few, if any, make it out the door to safety. The lesson is clear. Have a good plan, make sure the participants know it, and have leaders to insure that it is carried out.

Having confidence in leaders contributes to confidence in those who are nonviolent participants, and that confidence significantly reduces the effects of fear. Newcomers to nonviolent actions can gain confidence through appropriate training and through the demonstration of concern and understanding that their leaders exhibit about their anxiety. Assurances need to be forthcoming. For example, if a leader is not going to position himself in the front rank of a demonstration, he needs to tell his people why he is not there and where he will be. ("If I am in the front rank, I will not be able to observe what is happening and will not be able to communicate with other leaders or coordinate changes that may be needed to prevent unnecessary casualties. Remember, I am the one who will declare a victory so we can get the hell out of there").

Leaders, in addition to explaining the action and risks about to be undertaken, should remind the participants why they have committed themselves to political change. How this specific action relates to and is supportive of the overall strategy should also be emphasized. Participants should also be made aware that this action would also reflect the growing strength of the movement and serve as an encouraging example to others that the collective defiance of tyranny is possible.

In planning events in nonviolent struggles, leaders must consider measures that prevent people from feeling they are alone. In public actions, such as demonstrations, keeping people close enough so that they are touching others, holding hands and vocalizing (chants, songs, and talking to one another) are constant reminders that no one is alone. Wearing some similar clothing and symbols are psychological props that provide visual association with others

who share common beliefs and commitment.

Other important elements in planning that deserve careful consideration are those actions intended to reduce the fear levels of the opposing forces at the site of the nonviolent action. The police should be informed that no harm will come to them and that the demonstration will be peaceful. Words should be reinforced with action. For example, friendly faces and conversation should be encouraged. Perhaps family members, friends or others known to some of the police could be placed in the front ranks to reduce the perception that the group facing them is a physical threat. An armed individual who panics can start an unintended chain reaction of violence.

In the event that violence does occur, there should be planning to care for possible casualties. Trained medical personnel and assistants should be on hand to deliver first aid. The fact that such care will be available will provide some reassurance to the protesters. Mention of this assistance is acceptable, but dwelling upon assistance and possible casualties may cause an adverse response of fearfulness. Each protester should carry a clean white cloth to be used as his or her own bandage, relieving the medics from the need to carry extra supplies. Why white bandages? They show up better in photographs! Even something as simple as bandages can be used to great advantage. Photographers will be taking pictures of the demonstration, and, should there be injuries, they will be looking for photographs that will attract the attention of international media. While it is possible that one of those photographs will be seen by hundreds of millions of people, those who may be injured should focus on treating their injuries and not be involved in mundane or trivial matters such as combing their hair or putting on make-up for their moment of stardom. Every opportunity to send a message about the nonviolent struggle should be seized.

Each person should be given a specific task to accomplish during the event that will require his or her undivided attention. Leaders need to insist that these tasks be carried out. Staying focused on assigned tasks reduces the likelihood that an individual will panic at the sights and sounds of the immediate environment. Minute details can insure that fear is kept in check. Some people should be

assigned the duties of keeping the ranks and files straight. Others are needed to insure the banners are at the proper height. (Placing banners to the front of the protesters and at a height to block the demonstrators' view of police lines contributes to fear reduction.) Some people may be required to observe and report on activities surrounding the demonstration. Others may be required to distribute drinking water to prevent dehydration among the protesters. There will be some responsible for initiating chants, slogans and songs. The message is simple. Leaders need to keep everyone busy.

At the personal level there are emotional considerations that can reduce the effects of fear. Accepting that fear is normal means that experiencing fear is not the mark of a coward. Believing that the cause of the struggle is worthy of the risks being taken reinforces the commitment to action. Meditation and religious rituals have a calming effect, and they place the struggle in a larger context and within a larger community of believers. Important also is the moral obligation to those who will be depending upon the successful execution of assigned responsibilities. Contrary to the patriotic rhetoric of a nation at war, very few acts of bravery occur as a result of love of freedom, democracy, and rule of law. Most acts of valor result from loyalty and devotion to one's comrades.

Summary

By realizing that fear is a natural condition, we should not condemn others, or feel ashamed if we experience it ourselves. On the other hand, if people are to be successful in liberating themselves from a regime that rules by fear, they must understand the methods and techniques to overcome its adverse effects. To this end, knowledge, discipline and careful planning have proven to be effective.

Chapter Eleven
Leadership

Good leaders make people feel that they're at the very heart of things, not at the periphery. Everyone feels that he or she makes a difference to the success of the organization.

—Warren G. Bennis, author of *On Becoming a Leader*

The catalyst that converts the theory and applications of nonviolent struggle into effective action is leadership. Among the leadership roles in a struggle for democracy are mobilizing the people, being a role model for those participating in the struggle, exuding confidence when others may doubt the outcome of the struggle, making the right choices at the right time, and, sustaining the willing support and cooperation necessary for victory.

In this age of "image making" and "spin doctoring," the public has become cynical about many political leaders. They rightfully question if the person they watch and hear on the radio or television really believes what is being said, or if the image presented truly reflects the character being displayed. Many would not be surprised to learn that someone with a Hobbesian view of mankind is wearing the cloak of a Jeffersonian democrat. In general, there is a widely held belief that money, not character, political views, or competence to govern, determines the outcome of elections. If this description of politicians is, indeed, an accurate description of widely held views, the challenges facing leaders are enormous. No doubt, some national leaders are very different from public perceptions of political leaders in general. Nelson Mandela (South Africa), Martin Luther King, Jr. (USA), Lech Walesa (Poland), and Aung San Suu Kyi (Burma) are stark exceptions to these general perceptions of national leaders.

When the distance between a ruler and the people becomes so great that the people can no longer gain meaningful influence or control over the actions and policies of government, those who seek democratic reform will frequently find the awesome power of the state arrayed against them. In these situations, effective leadership can instill confidence and courage among the public to act collec-

tively in restoring a balance of political power that promotes individual freedom and justice.

There are certain common traits or characteristics of leadership observed in effective leaders—national or local—of both armed and unarmed conflicts. And although there is a perception that truly great leaders of conflicts have been born to lead, for all practical purposes the basic traits of leadership can be imparted by education, training and experience. Strategic nonviolent struggle may require that thousands, if not tens of thousands, of people assume leadership positions throughout the movement if the people's will is to be successfully imposed upon authoritarian regimes. In a nonviolent struggle the traits discussed below are suggested for consideration for strengthening the movement.

Leadership Traits

1. Set the Example

Over time, any organization will reflect the qualities and attributes of its leader. No leader who uses his office for personal gain should be surprised when all of his subordinates are found doing the same thing. Systemic corruption cannot be avoided when the leaders are corrupt. Where leaders demonstrate honesty, hard work, courage and respect for others, those same characteristics will be evident in the followers. All the traits and characteristics desired of an organization need to be reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of its leaders.

2. Know the People You Expect to Lead

An effective leader must demonstrate care and concern for those he is expected to lead. At the national level, this means understanding the statistical data on the population such as demographics, income by groups (farmers, workers, teachers, civil servants, etc), education levels, religion, ethnic diversity, imports and exports, sources of GDP, availability of health care and other social services. Important also is to have an appreciation of "what people do all day." For example, in Zimbabwe in 2002, the people endured the demands of standing in queues several hours a day waiting to purchase rationed

food, faced the fact that at least 25 percent of their population was infected with HIV / AIDS, and accepted that inflation was over 100 percent and unemployment was 70 percent. The reality of people's lives there included that there was no disposable income, that people were malnourished, and that searching for work and food and caring for sick and dying family members left little time for political activities. If this set of circumstances were not bad enough, the regime adopted policies to intentionally starve members of the political opposition and their families and routinely sent thugs to beat and rape them. Appeals for the populace's support should reflect the reality of their daily lives.

For community level leaders, everyone should have a name and a face. Leaders should make an effort to know personally their supporters, as well as fence sitters, and make every effort to demonstrate concern for them. Not only should the local leaders frequently remind their fellow citizens of how their lives will be better under a democratic government, but they should also assist in solving problems that citizens may have.

3. Be Proficient in Carrying Out Responsibilities

In a crisis, nothing brings defeat and demoralization quicker than a leader who doesn't know his job. Bad decisions result in unnecessary risks and casualties; trust disappears and fear becomes commonplace. Leaders are expected to know how to win on the battlefield, whether it is a conventional battlefield or the equally demanding environment of nonviolent struggle. Beyond possessing or having available to them the skills and knowledge for waging the battles, leaders must recognize that there are other aspects of leadership that influence the outcome of a struggle. At the national level, this could mean the leader's being able to articulate clearly why this struggle must be undertaken, or it might mean that the leader be able to inspire the public to participate in the battle. Other skills might be in gaining international support and in directing resources for campaigns that, based upon careful analysis, are winnable with minimum casualties.

At the community level, leaders need to understand how to

assess the situation, select the nonviolent methods to be used to accomplish the objectives of a campaign plan, prepare plans for the nonviolent action, and train participants in how to successfully employ the method or methods selected.

4. Seek and Accept Responsibility

It seems that avoiding responsibility is a common characteristic in societies today. Too often, when we talk with a customer service representative about a problem with a product purchased from them, the company's first priority is to make sure we understand that whatever the problem is, it is not their fault. Likewise, the first response when a student fails a class is to blame the teacher. A political leader will say that his or her decision was based upon the best information available, and that the decision turned out to be bad could not be blamed on him or her. Failing to be prepared for an important meeting is blamed upon lack of time to prepare, other priorities, something involving one's children (illness, recital, Parent Teachers meeting). The trump card, an Act of God, is always a good excuse for failure. Leaders in nonviolent struggle, however, are not common people, and the struggle is not commonplace.

An effective leader accepts responsibility for failure to achieve organizational objectives. If something goes wrong, others are not blamed. A leader should admit that something went wrong, accept responsibility, correct the problem, learn from it, and move on. Followers will appreciate leaders' accepting responsibility for their mistakes. It also gives the leader leverage for making necessary corrections. "Look, guys, I personally accepted the blame for this mistake. I failed to follow-up my guidance with supervision. I don't want to have to accept the blame for the same errors in the future. We need to find out how to prevent this from happening again." The quickest way to stifle initiative is to blame subordinates for errors. An effective approach on mistakes is to acknowledge that mistakes are expected when waging a conflict. No one is perfect. However, forgiveness does not extend to those who fail to learn from their mistakes and make them again.

5. Give Others Credit for Success

When discussing a successful event, a good leader always avoids using the word "I." He uses "we," "they," "he," "she" or "them"—giving credit to his or her followers. It was their contributions that made success possible. The little child who warned of approaching government troops; the old lady who offered water to protesters at a demonstration; the young lady who designed the leaflet; the man who risked his life distributing those leaflets; the community leaders who planned the details of the operation and those who carried it out—these are the people who should get credit for the movement's successes.

A leader may be the most brilliant strategist or tactician in the world—but his talents mean nothing if those ideas and operational concepts are not carried out by others. The result of this leadership approach of giving credit to others is that each individual begins to believe that he personally is important, that success depends upon his contribution, and that his contribution is very much appreciated.

6. Loyalty

Loyalty in a democratic society is not simple. It is a two-way street requiring members of the organization to support their leaders and the leaders, in turn, to respect and show concern for their supporters. Loyalty does not mean being a "yes" man, giving unquestioning obedience to everything the boss says. In fact, that may be an act of disloyalty to let leaders do something that may be harmful to the democratic movement without alerting that leader that something may be amiss in a plan under consideration. Loyalty requires that, when disagreement exists, the disagreement should be brought to the attention of the leader, although not in front of subordinates, along with the reasons for disagreement and recommended solutions to correct the problem. The leader has the reciprocal obligation to establish a procedure within the organization to insure that legitimate concerns do get addressed. It may be that the disagree-

ment may have been engendered because the loyal subordinate was not privy to certain facts or plans about broader strategic objectives, other operations to be conducted concurrently, or expected opponent activities. In any case, when operational decisions are distributed for action, they should be supported whole-heartedly. Loyalty also requires that leaders adopt a decision making process which permits the best-qualified people to have input into that process.

7. Know Your Opponent

This means every bit of relevant information about the opponent should be gathered and analyzed. For example, the answers to questions such as how an opponent thinks, what he normally does, what he does under pressure, what he believes, and what is important and unimportant to him are all factors that should be examined. Who, really, is the enemy? What is known about key leaders who will be directing the campaigns against the democratic opposition? By knowing the opponent, strategists can anticipate his response.

8. Learn From Experience

The most expensive learning method is to learn from our own mistakes. It is far more efficient to learn from the mistakes and successes of others. For some people, direct experience is not a good teacher if they are unable to learn from their mistakes. In recent years, several excellent sources for research and study have been published on strategic nonviolent conflict so that learning from the experience of others can be accomplished.[38] In addition, there are some non-governmental organizations that are willing to share knowledge of their research and experience in the field of strategic nonviolent conflicts.[39] For more direct use, it is important that "Les-

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[38] Examples of such books are Bertil Lintner, *Outrage: Burma's Struggle For Democracy*, (London and Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990); Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*, (London: Pluto Press, 2000).

[39] NGOs that could be helpful with information are The Albert Einstein Institution (www.aeinstein.org) and the International Center On Nonviolent Conflict (www.nonviolent-conflict.org)

sons Learned" is prepared after each and every operation and that others share in that information. A strategist course, alone, cannot make anyone a strategist. Thinking strategically results from experience gained through personal experience, or more importantly, vicariously, from reading and discussions about the experience of others.

9. Maximize and Challenge the Abilities of Subordinates

Leaders need to pick the right people for the right positions. For those who have studied WW II, the names of General Patton and General Eisenhower are familiar. Each brought very different skills and personalities to the Allied war effort. Patton was a brilliant field commander who led his troops to accomplish feats on the battlefield that most would have considered beyond their limits of endurance. He was a feared and respected leader. Because of his arrogance and unabashed disdain for some Allied commanders, he undoubtedly would have been sent home if it were not for the fact that he was a proven combat leader. On the other hand, General Eisenhower, a very experienced and highly capable staff officer, projected an image of being a quiet, easygoing fellow who could get the support and willing cooperation of others. For that reason, he was given command of the European theater of operations and was responsible for the invasion of Europe. He was able to take military leaders from all the allied countries and get their support and cooperation to successfully plan and launch the Normandy Invasion, the most complex military campaign in history. The point is that leaders should know the strengths and talents of subordinates and use them to best advantage.

Leadership Styles

Leadership styles vary along a continuum from extremely authoritarian to being democratically "the first among equals." The situation will influence the style of leadership that is adopted. Another factor in determining leadership style is the necessity to adopt a style

consistent with one's own personality.

In general, major advantages of the authoritarian leadership style include the fact that it is:

- ideally suited for crisis situations where actions must be immediate;
- suited for situations where the leader is not well known to the followers and he is in the process of establishing his authority; and
- useful in situations where the group has suffered defeats and needs to feel confident that the leader knows what to do.

There are always exceptions to "in general" comments. In times of crisis, there may not be time to seek views of others or discuss options. If, however, contingencies have been anticipated and plans prepared, decisions to implement them can be made rapidly. In crisis situations, the level at which tactical decisions are made should be pushed to the lowest level where the information is most current and where the decisions are to be carried out.

There are disadvantages to an authoritarian model. Unlike in a military environment, where obedience is enforced by law, people support a nonviolent movement and take risks because they want to, and they cannot be forced to do anything. Depending solely on authority also stifles initiative, and followers may become just that—followers who do nothing without direction from above. If people believe, however, that they are part of the decision-making process, they will have their own reputations on the line and will be more enthusiastic in seeing that "their" plans are sound and are carried out effectively.

The advantages of a democratic leader style are that it:

- promotes willing support since the followers feel they have, or could have, participated in the decision-making process;
- encourages innovation since, if time permits, the leader may solicit suggestions (brain storm sessions, perhaps) to solve problems;
- results in everyone knowing why and how decisions were made, fostering trust and confidence;
- provides members valuable experience for assuming leader-

ship positions themselves in a democratic society.

There are certain disadvantages that could arise in using a democratic leadership style. First, if the leader lacks any essential leadership traits, this deficiency will immediately be exposed. Additionally, reaching a decision could become quite time consuming where there is a wide divergence of views.

Regardless of the style individuals adopt, leaders also have an obligation to train subordinates. This means that those around them are exposed to how decisions are made, informed about why some information is more important than other information, and are asked for recommendations. Those recommendations need to be critiqued. In other words, the skilled leader should be a mentor to his people. As their proficiency increases, he should delegate more responsibility to them. The mentoring of subordinates, at every level within a movement, promotes trust, confidence, and commitment. Moreover, a leader who does not train his replacement to take over in the event of death, illness or arrest is a poor leader.

Summary

Successful leaders share certain characteristics. No one leader has to demonstrate all of these traits to be successful, but all successful leaders are found to exhibit some of them. Leadership is often situational—requiring more or less of one trait or a leadership style than the other. It is important to remember, however, that competence is more important than the leadership style adopted.

Chapter Twelve
Contaminants

Contaminant, n. a substance that contaminates another substance; Contaminate, v. to make impure, unclean or corrupt by contact.

—Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, Unabridged. 1975.

Just as water can contaminate the fuel used in our cars—small amounts can cause the engine to misfire and sputter, and greater amounts can stop the engine from running at all—nonviolent movements can also have contaminants that make them inefficient or even destroy them. In this chapter, the most serious contaminants to organizations pursuing nonviolent conflict will be examined.

Violence as a Contaminant

Opposition violence toward the government or its supporters, authorized or not, can be a serious contaminant to the success of a nonviolent struggle. A single act of violence may provide the government with a convenient rationale for brutal retaliation against whatever target or targets within the opposition movement it purports to hold directly or indirectly responsible. Opposition violence may also have the unintended effect of undermining public confidence and participation in a movement whose very existence is premised upon achieving its objectives through nonviolent strategy and tactics.

Extreme examples of violence provoking violent retaliation were the Palestinian terrorist groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad and their suicide bombings against Israeli citizens during the second Intifada. Because the Palestinian Authority failed to aggressively disassociate itself from these terrorist acts, Israeli public support for a negotiated homeland for Palestinians evaporated, and the international community began backing away from influencing restraint on Israeli settlement policies and Israel's violent occupation of the West Bank. Moreover, until major changes in the leadership of the

Palestinian Authority were implemented, it was rejected as an entity for future discussions to end the conflict. If the objective of these terrorists' attacks was to end Israeli occupation, one must question the wisdom of confronting Israel at its strongest point—military force.

As with any political struggle, including the most violent ones, the importance of the energy, enthusiasm and idealism of youthful contributions to success can hardly be overestimated. But one of the most striking benefits of a nonviolent strategy—a benefit not always enjoyed where violence is employed—is that its ranks and leadership benefit immeasurably from the complete absence of age or gender restrictions. Violence, on the other hand, can reasonably be expected to deter the less physically active but nonetheless valuable supporters to a movement. Membership in a nonviolent movement is also compatible with pacifism and religious beliefs. Acts of violence can result in the loss of support by individuals and groups that could reinforce the moral authority of a pro-democracy movement. It is difficult for the international community to justify support to a cause, however worthy and justified, which appears, by its own actions, or through skillful propaganda and *agents provocateurs* by the opponent, to endorse violent actions against a government.

Appearance of Disunity as a Contaminant

The strength of a "peoples' movement" requires the active participation of "the people." And oppressed people are attracted to movements for change when they perceive these movements reflecting the aspirations of the people and when they view the leadership as being capable of guiding the movement to victory. Unlike some of the more extreme religious zealots who are willing to sacrifice their lives without any earthly hope of victory, most people are rational. We would not knowingly fly on an airplane that had no navigation instruments. Nor would rational people risk their lives and livelihoods by joining a political movement to oppose a tyrant if that movement lacked a clear purpose and strategy for achieving victory.

Disunity between and among coalition members within a democratic movement can result in a loss of trust and confidence in the movement's ability to achieve political reforms. This loss of trust then contributes to the atomization of society, which, in turn, promotes a sense of helplessness and defeatism. Authoritarian regimes promote the atomization of society by replacing or penetrating organizations existing outside the control of the government. These organizations would normally consume portions of an individual's time and loyalty, but their infiltration by government agents inhibits a person's ability to express opinions about his living conditions and politics. [See Figure 5, Loyalty Pie]. Disunity among leaders also inhibits the ability of the people to overcome the effects of fear. In the end, there is little difference between leaders of pro-democracy groups who fail to promote unity within the movement and government *agents provocateurs* who promote disunity.

Some movements never become viable, in part, because disunity within the leadership makes cooperation difficult, if not impossible, to achieve on critical issues. Other movements, once strong, lose their effectiveness and attractiveness as the public witnesses the effects of organizational infighting. Visible indications of disunity occur when a mass action is called and some groups refuse to participate, or groups prove incapable of providing a coordinated strategy to support public demands for political change.

One of the most effective ways to promote and maintain unity within a movement is to keep the objectives of the struggle to the bare minimum. It must also be apparent to all that achieving these objectives will benefit all members of society, including many that now support the opponent.

Perception of Exclusiveness

Policies and/or statements that may be perceived as limiting participation in a political struggle can lead to hostility or apathy by the excluded groups. There may efforts by pacificists, for example, to keep the nonviolent movement "pure and principled" (ignoring the reality that most people do not share their idealism). In Venezuela,

the nonviolent movement against the government of President Hugo Chavez had been skillfully characterized by the regime and its supporters as being waged along racial and economic lines with the poor and people of color supporting the President, and rich, middle class and whites supporting the opposition. The real issues such as corruption, incompetence, and the gradual movement toward dictatorship were being submerged beneath the divisive rhetoric of race and class.

Presence of Foreign Nationals within a Democratic Movement

The participation of foreign nationals in the domestic component of a political struggle should not be permitted by the opposition to become a public issue. Such assistance should be readily acknowledged or even matter-of-factly characterized by the movement as opposition requested technical assistance which has no line authority and strict accountability. The rationale for quickly and transparently acknowledging the assistance from foreign nationals is a sound one. First, and foremost, as far as possible, members of any strategic nonviolent movement should be provided with as much information as possible in order to rationally judge the competence of their leaders and the competence and possible special interests of any foreign technical advisers to the leadership. While there may be occasions where foreign advice or assistance cannot be made public as a condition of such advice or assistance, the opposition leadership must carefully weigh the hoped-for benefits against possible harmful disclosures.

Secondly, the adoption of a general policy of transparency as to the participation of foreign nationals in a strategic nonviolent movement can do much to disarm arguments of the government that any achievements of the opposition are due to the decisions of foreign nationals. Not only will the government charges be weakened in their presentment, but the opposition response can be simple and direct: “As we have made clear on many occasions, the leadership of our movement chooses its advisors carefully from a large pool of qualified people from all walks of life and from all freedom loving

countries. When advice is requested, it often proves helpful in reaching consensus decisions by our leadership. That is as it should be."

There are foreigners who may have a wealth of knowledge and skills that may be useful to a democratic movement engaged in or contemplating the adoption of strategic nonviolent struggle. These people should be contacted—with the clear understanding that the trainers and consultants are excluded from the decision making process—and their talents tapped.

Active Participation of Military Forces in Political Struggle

It is a mistake to encourage the politicization of a nation's military establishment. It is difficult enough for the military establishment to avoid involvement in a domestic political struggle, especially if the government leadership is perceived to be legitimate by election and that leadership, citing constitutional authority, commits military forces against the political opposition. It should be anticipated that as the movement becomes stronger, the likelihood that the government will commit armed forces against the nonviolent struggle movement should, at the very least, be considered. Therefore, opposition efforts to discourage the armed forces from participating in a war against its own citizens should be initiated early.

Once the military takes sides in a domestic political struggle, even for the most democratic causes, the likelihood of its being committed to armed struggle against a major segment of the population increases, and with it, increases the possibility of civil war or a coup d'état. Neither of these possibilities benefits the people nor do they strengthen a nonviolent movement. Should the military seize control of government on the pretense of providing a transition, unless it is attacked immediately, that transition could last for years or even decades.[40] If some of the senior officers personally feel strongly about taking sides, they should resign and pursue their political ideology as individuals within the political faction that suits them.

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[40] It took seventeen years before Pinochet was removed in Chile. The dictatorship in Rangoon has lasted more than 40 years.

Organizational Structure Ill-suited for Nonviolent Conflict

An organizational structure that is not conducive to remaining focused on the core objectives of a strategic nonviolent struggle invites contaminants. As in any war, decision making by committee is inappropriate. Ideally, at the strategic level, someone should be responsible for deciding when and where the campaigns will be fought, while other individuals should be responsible for waging those battles and campaigns. At every level within a movement, tasks should not be assigned without knowing the individual responsible for its implementation. Responsibility is never the plural "we," only the singular "I." This is not to suggest that many people will not be involved in preparing and presenting recommendations to the decision-maker and that those recommendations will be carefully considered, but rather that individuals should be held accountable for decisions and their implementation.

There will always be a temptation for political parties to influence decisions to better position themselves for the post-conflict period. Sometimes, these activities can take priority over getting to the "post-conflict" period. There should be some mechanism within the movement to insure that all plans are based upon objective analyses, directly supportive of objectives, and assigned to the organizations within the movement most capable of succeeding. Ideally, this mechanism would be a planning staff that can be depended upon to resist pressure to design plans that favor one group or another on any grounds other than objectives and capabilities. An organization seeking to better position itself within the movement need only to have the best trained and best led forces.

The movement should have a follow-up mechanism to insure that organizational commitments are met. Once there is agreement on objectives and strategy, it should be expected that full support by all movement organizations is forthcoming. The plans to support that strategy, once accepted by member organizations, are not to be considered "optional." If a group is given a task clearly beyond its capability identified in the strategic estimate, that mistake should be brought to the immediate attention of the planners so that adjust-

ments can be made. It may be necessary to reinforce an organization with additional capabilities or, as a last resort, reassign the mission to another element. Preparation of "Lessons Learned" could be very useful in evaluating the degree to which organizational commitments, as well as objectives, are being met.

Agents Provocateurs

The assumption that government informers will penetrate a nonviolent movement to report on its capabilities and intentions is not the only government intervention that movements can expect. More insidious than informants are *agents provocateurs* who will attempt to provoke violence, promote dissension within the movement, and divert the movement away from government vulnerabilities. The response to these threats is not to become overly paranoid but to be alert for indications of changing patterns in discussions about future options that might warrant a closer examination.

Summary

While it may be impossible to entirely eliminate contaminants to a nonviolent movement, by being alert, taking preventative actions, and acting quickly when problems surface, the movement can limit their adverse impact on the organization and its coalition members. The most important deterrence to contamination of a movement is strong, effective leadership.

Chapter Thirteen
Influencing External Audiences

A propagandist is a specialist in selling attitudes and opinions.

—Hans Speier, economist, sociologist and political scientist

Even though the center of gravity of any nonviolent struggle for political change should always be internal, the support of the international community is an important component. Diplomatic and a wide variety of other external support can expand the "battlefield" of strategic nonviolent conflict and increase the capabilities of resistance organizations. On the other hand, there can be obvious and hidden costs associated with creating partnerships with external governments and organizations. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad framework and some suggestions for consideration about influencing external audiences.

Governments

In general, governments reflect the wisdom attributed to Queen Elizabeth I of England that "nations do not have friends, only interests." Sometimes these interests can be related to security, economy, or politics. Most often, these interests are quite pragmatic, and idealism is used to package those interests to make them more acceptable to the publics affected by them. In the 19th and 20th centuries, nationalism was a very effective packaging strategy for mobilization for war. The "white man's burden" for justifying colonialism was nothing more than a fig leaf to cover the real intent, which was the profit motive. When national interests change, for whatever reason, policies also change and sometimes rather abruptly. Alliances change (who would have thought in 1936 that the Soviet Union would be an ally of Western democracies in 1941) even to the point of abandoning allies in the middle of a war.

It is important, therefore, that those responsible for gaining international community support appreciate the need for explaining a nonviolent struggle for political change to prospective donor for-

eign governments in terms of mutual interests. Having a democratic government in power that supports these values in multilateral and bilateral relationships is a positive reason for a democratic government to support or, at least, to remain neutral. When investment opportunities are added and current investments are to be protected, business lobbies may be motivated to take up the democratic cause. In terms of security interests for a prospective supporter, a friendly government may be of value in a crisis by providing over flight permission for military aircraft, intelligence exchange arrangements, or possibly even staging areas for foreign forces if mutual interests are threatened.

The support and understanding of a government's executive branch are critically important. The mere mention of a democratic struggle by a head of state can give immediate countrywide notice and legitimacy to the cause. This recognition could result in additional media attention with background information, human-interest stories, and editorial commentary on the conflict. In most cases, a nonviolent struggle being waged for democracy will have the moral high ground, placing the opponent on the defensive in the international arena.

Each nation's legislature has its own formal and informal means of influencing the executive branch of government. In the United States, for example, Congressional hearings can be an effective means of gaining exposure of a struggle for democratic change, which can then be followed by speeches, resolutions and favorable legislation.

Non-Governmental Organizations

The task of moving a topic to that of an issue, then to a national interest of a government is a complex and difficult process requiring a multitude of skills, expertise and experience, and, in each country, the exact procedures are different. Fortunately, there are, in many democratic countries, organizations that assist democratic movements in getting visibility and support. Within the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) community there are some that are quite proficient in the esoteric field of influencing government. There are

groups that promote the rights of workers, fight against human rights abuses, advocate on behalf of victims of torture, provide support for free and fair elections, promote democratic values abroad, or seek the peaceful reconciliation and mediation of conflicts. If one or more of these NGOs consider a movement to be of priority interest, they can provide invaluable assistance in developing and implementing a strategy to navigate what to an outsider would appear to be an endless maze of offices and meetings.

Like governments, NGOs have interests. It would be advisable to gather as much information about their interests and *modus operandi* before approaching them for possible assistance. It is important that a movement not take on baggage of an NGO that may create conflict within the movement or may not be in the best interest of the people. An extreme example of this kind of mistake could be a nonviolent struggle movement's seeking the assistance of an NGO that opposes all forms of birth control when the movement is representing a society suffering from high rates of HIV / AIDS, overpopulation, and poverty.

To be effective, the relationship between an NGO and a democratic movement should be based upon compatibility of interests, mutual respect and honesty. On the part of the organization requesting assistance, mutual respect includes appreciation that, for a NGO, time is a precious resource. Being thoroughly prepared for meetings, providing written discussion papers for agenda items, and providing timely responses to requests for additional information are indicators of professionalism and respect. Honesty, too, is essential. A movement that represents itself as being nonviolent while maintaining an armed element can be embarrassing to a NGO if the existence of the armed element is discovered after a relationship between the movement and the NGO has been established.

Organizations within the movement should be encouraged to seek out NGOs whose interests reflect their specific goals. For example, women's groups, trade unions, political parties, journalist associations and other professional organizations can become stronger and more effective through association with like groups abroad. It is through member organizations that the power of the movement

is expressed. It may be neither helpful nor necessary that the movement leadership get directly involved in these efforts to establish organizational relationships with potential donors, other than to be aware that they exist, and endorse them when appropriate.

One problem faced by donors is often the gap between grant objectives and results when donors measure the effectiveness of their support. Where extreme poverty exists, it is understandable that a portion of assistance would be diverted to subsistence of the activists for food, housing, and daily transportation. Organizations need to understand, however, that these forms of support are not charity, for which nothing is expected in return. Those receiving assistance should consider an approved grant proposal as a contract. A contract means that in return for funding by the donor, the grantee is obligated for "deliverables" such as increased membership, establishment of courier systems, training programs, production and distribution of printed materials, or whatever is necessary to meet the objectives of the grant. Meeting or exceeding the obligations of the contract positions an organization for a grant renewal, while failure to perform obligates the donor to end the relationship. Within the NGO community, requests for support far exceed the resources that are available. Reinforcing failure is not a luxury that a NGO can afford.

Media

In addition to cultivating support within foreign governments and the NGO communities, without the support of foreign media, it is improbable that a public constituency can be achieved. Widespread public knowledge and support about a democratic struggle will provide momentum and assistance to other efforts in gaining international support.

Media relations is also an area requiring expert advice for the development of a media strategy and for understanding the requirements for working with reporters, editors, and other key communicators in the press, television and radio. There is also the need to know the primary audience of a specific news organization. For

example, the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Times* have different primary audiences, as do the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal.*

It would be helpful to know something about the journalists who may be seeking detailed information on the democratic struggle. In many countries there are Foreign Correspondent's Clubs whose members may be associated with major news organizations, freelance journalists, or "stringers" for various publications. Obtaining their names and making queries about their professional credentials, including, perhaps, an internet search, could identify those with whom developing a close professional relationship may advantageous.

Journalists are interested in news, preferably exclusive news, and to make that news "newsworthy" he/she needs background information and press releases to cite. Importantly, journalists like to be alerted before the event. For that to happen, a relationship of mutual trust needs to exist. The burden for developing that relationship rests with the public relations element of the movement or organization. Experienced reporters are usually cynical and assume that people are trying to use them for their own purposes. Being used in itself is not grounds for rejecting the approach, but if there are not clear opportunities for the reporter to be a partner in covering the struggle, it may not be worth a reporter's time to go beyond the issued press release.

Increasingly, the public is relying on television for its news. This places more importance on photo / video journalism. An experienced television journalist-producer provided some sage advice for those seeking to maximize the potential of electronic media:[41]

> **Rule #1.** While not neglecting or ignoring any press outlet, make an effort to identify one or two exceptionally thoughtful, perceptive, or approachable reporters / producers with whom to build a long-term relationship. Buy them a beer or coffee, or let them take you to lunch.

[41] The author of these rules wishes to remain anonymous.

Rule #2. Ingratiate yourself with the one or two you have chosen by feeding them genuinely useful information, even when the information does not directly advance your own agenda. The goal is to build your credibility, to demonstrate your own "news judgment," to prove that you have their interests in mind, and to show that you are well connected. Maintain regular contacts but don't pester the press unless you have something new or interesting to impart.

Rule #3. Make yourself available. Encourage the press to contact you; give them your phone numbers and email address and return their calls promptly. If you have followed Rule #2 above, you will probably begin getting calls from the press, asking what you know about something, or simply seeking advice. Of course, you have to be cautious about what you disclose, but when the press seeks you out, it's an opportunity to influence coverage.

Rule #4. Don't stage media events. Don't summon the press unless you have some authentic underlying news. Once this requirement is satisfied, you should schedule and stage the event in a way that maximizes visual and emotional content and at a time and place that allows producers to make their deadlines comfortably.

Rule #5. Inform the press as far in advance as possible of any event or action by your own movement which you are convinced is going to be significant and newsworthy. Don't inflate expectations. Don't rely on written notifications; if humanly possible, make direct personal contact by telephone. Provide accurate, concise and complete details of what's going to happen, when, where, why, involving whom, etc. Don't forget to provide seemingly mundane logistical or mechanical information that may be critical, especially for a television crew. If appropriate, offer guidance, background briefings, and interviews with key figures.

Rule #6. Remember that your cause is served not only by press attention to your own actions or achievements, but also by press attention to what your adversary is doing. Your movement may well be aware of things the regime is doing or planning that would be of interest to the press, and you should share this information whenever you can do so, consistent with protecting your own security and the anonymity of your sources.

Rule #7. Remember that reporters and producers must "sell" their stories to their superiors, and help them in this job by explaining such factors as background, context, linkages, or consequences of which they may not be aware, and which would make a story more attractive. You may know of biographical details or relationships among major figures, or of financial and business connections that would make something more significant. If you can, offer videotape footage that would enhance a story.

Rule #8. Take care not to misrepresent any videotape recordings you offer to journalists. Provide complete and accurate details about the date, location, and content of the scenes you're offering. Be sure that you have the legal right to offer the material and that showing the tape on television will not jeopardize anyone depicted in the footage or expose you to legal claims.

Rule #9. Never deceive or provide untruthful or misleading information to a journalist. It may benefit you in the short term, but the long-term damage isn't worth it.

Rule #10. Remember that different networks, media companies, and news services speak to different audiences, have different news cycles, styles, and technical requirements. Except in the most unusual or urgent situations, these factors should be reflected in the way you deal with them. A journalist who does short spot news for television has different needs than the print reporter who files a 1,500 word story.

Summary

Influencing external audiences through the support of NGOs or through the artful use of the media can be critical to the success of a nonviolent movement. Partnerships formed with these outside forces can provide legitimacy, strength, resources and coverage for nonviolent movements, but in those partnerships are contractual obligations that must be met.

Chapter Fourteen
Consultations and Training

An unfortunate reality is that interest in pursuing strategic nonviolent struggle as an alternative to armed conflict most often comes after armed struggle has failed or after an extensive examination has determined that armed struggle is not a viable option for victory. The months, years or decades invested in armed struggle can represent a significant sunk cost, and there is understandable reluctance to acknowledge that a violent struggle is not—or never was—a feasible option. That failure may not be the fault of the people involved, who may be quite capable, but of larger forces well beyond their control.

The failure of armed struggle against a tyrannical regime today should not be surprising. With the end of the Cold War, major powers no longer need "client" states to wage conflicts by proxy to secure their interests against the opposing bloc of states. Nations now are more focused on economic interests that can be pursued more efficiently in politically stable environments.

Increasing centralization of power in governments, accompanied by advances in technology to better control and suppress opposition groups, such as in communications, crowd control, intelligence gathering, and other coercive measures, makes the training, movement, and employment of armed groups extremely difficult. Even in democratic societies, the "war on terrorism" has resulted in the acceptance of an unprecedented control and surveillance of individuals—acts which would have been unthinkable a few years ago. For authoritarian regimes, fighting the war on terrorism has opened the doors of opportunity for even greater repression. Prodemocracy opposition groups labeled terrorists can be subjected to government terror without a whisper of dissent from democratic countries.

While these factors have made armed struggle for democratic change almost impossible, they also have changed the way nonviolent movements need to think about how their strategy is to be implemented. One example is the use of the telephones. Today, it is possible to monitor all calls at all times, and now the only time a cell-

phone is secure occurs when the battery has been removed! As for computers, widely used throughout the world, there is only one way to completely erase data on the hard drive and that is to burn it or expose it to a strong electro-magnet. Pounding it with a sledge hammer provides no assurance that some information cannot be extracted by computer experts. Hitting the delete button only removes it from the operator's view, not the government's intelligence agencies. Disabling "cookies" only attracts the attention of the persons who placed them in the computer. Using encryption programs, even if they cannot be broken in a timely manner, attracts special attention to those who use them.

There have been several books written on strategic nonviolent struggle. While these books, along with films, articles and pamphlets are, and will be, invaluable resources to those exploring the use of nonviolent struggle or to those already engaged in this form of conflict, they may not be sufficient in themselves. When time is a factor and knowledge and skills need to be transferred quickly, consultants and experienced instructors should be requested. To accept such a request is an awesome responsibility.

Maximizing Human Resources for Effective Training

One of the many contributions of the film *A Force More Powerful* to the field of strategic nonviolent action is that millions of people were given the opportunity to view and listen to the clear message that has been promoted for years—there is an effective alternative to the often perceived limited options of violence or submission in the struggle for power.

Along with an increase in public interest in nonviolent conflict in general, we are seeing an increase in requests for information or training in the use of nonviolent struggle to oppose oppressive regimes. No one organization has the capacity to train on every aspect of nonviolent struggle. Some organizations have honed their skills in addressing strategic requirements for national movements; others focus on tactical skills and techniques, while yet others have developed unique capabilities in organizing at the grass roots for

nonviolent actions to empower those under-represented in the political process. It is likely that any group that promotes the use of nonviolent actions will be called upon to provide training, workshops and seminars on this subject.

Standardizing Core Knowledge

The question then arises: Should we be thinking about standardizing in some fashion what could constitute a core package of knowledge and skills on the theory and application of nonviolent struggle? We all know, for example, that there are concepts or principles of nonviolent action that are applicable whether one is planning a strike for higher wages, protesting human rights abuses, or planning a nation-wide nonviolent movement to bring political change. We also know that these concepts and principles apply across cultures and nations, just as military principles of war are universally applicable. How these concepts are actually applied is influenced by specific conditions of conflict environments, but the theory remains valid. Perhaps a "core package" could assist in creating a standard cognitive framework on which to attach most, if not all, topics relating to nonviolent conflict.

Some topics that might be included in a "core of knowledge" could be:

> **1. The importance of selecting final and intermediate objectives for the struggle.** Having a clear purpose permits better use of resources, assists in deciding priorities, and provides the public not only a reason to endorse and participate, but also a means to measure the effectiveness of the leadership as the struggle unfolds.
>
> **2. The pluralistic nature of power, its sources and how that power is expressed in institutions and organizations called "pillars of support".** Without a clear understanding of the pluralistic model of power, its sources, and how power is expressed in "pillars of support," individuals will find it impossible to

think strategically about nonviolent conflict. The specific techniques for getting a quick “snap-shot” of strengths and weaknesses of pillars of support or the more detailed analysis for operational planning can be presented in follow-on courses or consultations. See Chapters 1 and 2.

3. Exposure to the vast arsenal of nonviolent tools and methods. This not only provides the struggle group with a menu of options but also impresses upon its members that nonviolent action is much more than a series of demonstrations. See Chapter 4, Methods and Mechanisms.

4. Fear and techniques for overcoming its effects. Terrorizing the public is a very effective tool for keeping dictators in power. It paralyzes, intimidates, and atomizes society. Experience shows that some techniques are useful in overcoming the effects of fear. The objective is not to make people fearless but to assist them in functioning in spite of fear. See Chapter 10, Fear.

5. Exposure to fundamentals of propaganda. Identifying the Message, Target, Messenger and Feedback concepts provides a framework for thinking about this important subject. See Chapter 9, Psychological Operations.

6. Contaminants to nonviolent movements. A dangerous threat to a nonviolent movement is acts of violence attributable to it. Isolated acts are bad. When it reaches a level that such acts may have been planned and executed with the knowledge of the leadership, then it is devastating. In building a “people’s” movement” there will always be pressures to add goals and objectives to secure the support of various sectors of society. There is a limit to the amount of baggage any movement can carry. It is important that strategic objectives be limited rather than continually expanded. Of course, there is always the “foreign hand” danger. Factional infighting dissipates the energy of a movement and assists the regime in dividing

and conquering it. One of the primary reasons movements fail is because some of its leaders are more concerned about how power will be allocated long before it is theirs to allocate. Another contaminant is the mistaken notion that the struggle for democracy requires democratic organizational structures to wage the conflict. This is a nonviolent war, but war, nevertheless. It requires strong leadership and discipline. It is not a "happening" but a well planned and executed strategy to destroy a dictatorship. See Chapter 12, Contaminants to Nonviolent Struggle.

Diversifying Sources of Knowledge and Skills

Those considering or already engaged in nonviolent conflict should be encouraged to diversify their suppliers of training for skills and knowledge. For example, when addressing the need to mobilize workers to support various campaigns being planned, strategists may find that experienced union organizers are the most appropriate resource. In this regard, these experienced union organizers should be from the specific sectors to be organized—agricultural, industrial, services, or others, for example.

Also, since propaganda, or to use a more euphemistic term, information and media, plays such an important part in nonviolent conflict, the expertise of experienced and successful public relations consultants should be sought.

Women constitute about half of the human resources available for recruitment for a nonviolent movement. In some societies they are not a significant part of the general workforce. It may be possible to make available people from countries having similar cultural norms, with experience in nonviolent struggle to share ideas on mobilizing women and identifying useful roles for them in the struggle.

Special attention must be given to the youth sector. In nonviolent conflict, as in military conflict, it is the young who are in the front lines. They are the vanguard in movements for social change, and rightly so. There are many things they need to know, however,

and know very early in the movement. Not only should they be provided with books to study and workshops on tactics and leadership, but they should also have the opportunity to meet with veterans of youth groups from other conflicts to learn about their successes and failures. Personal experience is a good teacher, but learning from the experience of others is certainly less costly.

The single priority is giving the requestor the best qualified training resources available with respect to the skills and knowledge that he has requested. This does not always mean that those who are veterans of nonviolent conflict are the best qualified to train or to consult.

What Makes Effective Instructors and Consultants?

Even if we have the knowledge and skills available to respond to requests for consultations and training assistance, we should consider what qualities and skills our instructors should have to insure that the knowledge and skills that have been requested are effectively transferred. Some of these qualities and skills are:

> **1. Being a good listener and observer.** By giving importance to receiving information as well as giving information, precious time can be saved by assessing prior knowledge, appreciating group expectations, and acquiring feedback on the success of transferring the subject matter being presented. Experienced instructors and consultants know the importance of observing body language and eye contact of their audience. During breaks from class, it is effective to have an assistant gather comments from the group in order to adjust presentation style, revisit topics not clearly understood, or perhaps move to a topic that has the interests of the group at that moment. It is not necessary that the consultant or trainer fill all the time with his voice. Remaining silent for a few moments can provide others an opportunity to talk, and what they say may be as important, or more important, than what the instructor or consultant would have said.

With respect to assessing prior knowledge, Dr. Gene Sharp visited a Burmese opposition group at their jungle headquarters in Manerplaw, Burma in late 1992. The group had recently been introduced to the concepts of strategic nonviolent struggle. Dr. Sharp was introduced to one of the students who happened to be college professor. Instead of merely exchanging pleasantries, the professor immediately launched into a discussion on specific points contained in Gene's three volume work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. The professor had read these volumes more than a year earlier.

Much can happen between the time a consultant is requested and when that consultation occurs. The first agenda item, therefore, should be an overview of the situation provided by one or more of the group for whom the consultation has been arranged. What was to be the focus of the consultation may have been "OBE" (overtaken by events) and new priorities may have been identified. After reviewing those topics and determining which ones the consultant can competently address, the agenda for the consultation is revised. Notes prepared for topics relating to the original request can be left with the group. Topics requiring different consultants should be addressed only to the extent of suggesting where that expertise may be obtained.

2. Possessing sensitivity to cross-cultural communications. There are some basics that all trainers must appreciate. For example, the students, in the context of their own experiences and environment, will process the information being presented. The trainer can speed up this process if examples relevant to that context are used. Often the interpreters being used know very little about the subject so very strict ground rules need to be established to prevent the interpreter from "teaching" the class. On one occasion, there was a trainer who possessed some fluency in the language of his students but chose not to disclose his language skills to his interpreter. The interpreter, apparently feeling comfortable with the topic, began giving his

own rather than the instructor's views on the subject. He was quickly replaced!

3. Knowing the subject matter beyond the lesson plan prepared. This is important when instructors answer questions and reinforce teaching objectives. This is a serious deficiency in "train the trainer" programs. Experience has shown that after two or three iterations, the trainers often cannot adequately respond to questions beyond what is in their lesson plans. Trainers, therefore, should have access to source materials, professionally translated, and be tested on these materials. At the same time, it is the mark of a professional in any field to say, "I don't know the answer to that question. Let me think about it and I will get back to you."

4. Understanding how learning takes place. While specific data on retention of information received through reading, listening, and doing (or in combinations) are unverifiable, common sense suggests that anything in which a person participates reinforces the knowledge with which he is presented in books and lectures. Therefore, a trainer needs to reinforce his comments with visuals and include practical exercises whenever possible. The old Army Drill Instructor had a good teaching maxim that is applicable to all instructors: "Tell them what you are going to tell them, tell them, and then tell them what you told them."

A consultant should know not only about the group that is requesting a consultation, but also about where that group fits within the movement. In other words, is the consultation for a splinter group or is it in the mainstream of the opposition? It is far better to have the endorsement and active support of the senior leaders of the movement. If a meeting can be arranged, the consultant could provide an overview of strategic nonviolent struggle to include its theory and applications in other conflicts. If there is some remaining doubt about the viability of a nonviolent struggle, it may be ap-

propriate to suggest a "pilot project" so that persons in the movement whose judgment is respected by the movement leaders can make an assessment. Very simply, if the leadership is not persuaded that nonviolent struggle should be the option of choice, the movement will not receive the resources in funding and quality personnel that it needs for the successful implementation of its objectives.

It is not unusual for a dictatorial regime to recognize the magnitude of the threat posed by nonviolent struggle well before opposition leaders do. It would be prudent, then, that initial training of cadres not be publicized. Nor is it necessary in all cases for instructors to know the names of those receiving training. In fact, in some circumstances, it would be wise to insist that upon arrival for training, students introduce themselves with a "nom de guerre" and that true names are not known to instructors or to fellow students who may not have met previously.[42]

Circumstances permitting, trainers and consultants should be located with the group so that socializing can occur outside the classroom hours. In other words, trainers should be easily accessible. Knowledge transfer can often take place quite effectively during these "off-duty" hours.

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[42] This author remembers one of his classes at a remote location with students with the names of "Othello," "Bright," "Zulu," "Romeo," and "John Kennedy." Remote in this context means that there was a designated "snake killer," whose record was six kills in one day.

Some Final Thoughts

How to think about waging a strategic nonviolent struggle and the theory of social power that underlies its implementation should not be perceived as an esoteric matter. Instead, strategic nonviolent struggle must be recognized as a subject that can be understood and applied by all who seek to throw off the yoke of governmental oppression. People need to understand clearly that they hold the very sources of power that a tyrant uses to suppress them, and that the people can, collectively, deny those sources to ruler, making liberation possible.

The primary purpose of this book has been to provide the reader with an introduction to the fundamentals of strategic nonviolent struggle and a brief discussion as to their practical applications. It is not a definitive work, but rather an approach to thinking about harnessing the enormous power of a people to overcome oppression. It demonstrates similarities between armed and unarmed conflict, but intentional emphasis has been placed on what is perhaps the most unappreciated similarity, which is the importance of adopting a systematic approach to decision-making and planning. A sound strategy provides direction and priorities to achieve objectives for a movement and permits the flexibility needed to adjust plans to meet new opportunities or challenges. It is a mistake of the highest order to continue following a plan when changes have occurred in the situational factors upon which the plan was developed—and it is normal for such changes to happen. Yet, with a sound strategy, thoughtful planning, and strong leadership, a nonviolent movement can quickly make those adjustments and continue to choose the battlefields and force the opponent to fight on its terms—and that strategy and leadership can make a deciding difference to the outcome of any nonviolent struggle.

Appendix One
Glossary of Important Terms in Nonviolent Struggle

Accommodation: A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which the opponents resolve, while they still have a choice, to agree to a compromise and grant certain demands of the nonviolent resisters. Accommodation occurs when the opponents have neither changed their views nor been nonviolently coerced, but have concluded that a compromise settlement is desirable. The accommodation may result from influences which, if continued, might have led to the conversion, nonviolent coercion, or disintegration of the opponents' system or regime.

Authority: The quality which leads the judgments, decisions, recommendations, and orders of certain individuals and institutions to be accepted voluntarily as right and therefore to be implemented by others through obedience or cooperation. Authority is a main source of political power, but it is not identical with it.

Boycott: Noncooperation, either socially, economically, or politically.

Civic abstention: A synonym for acts of political noncooperation.

Civic action: A synonym for nonviolent action conducted for political purposes.

Civic defiance: Assertive acts of nonviolent protest, resistance or intervention conducted for political purposes.

Civic resistance: A synonym for nonviolent resistance with a political objective.

Civic strike: An economic shut-down conducted for political reasons. Not only may workers go on strike, but more importantly students, professionals, shopkeepers, white-collar workers (includ-

ing government employees), and members of upper classes may participate.

Civil disobedience: A deliberate peaceful violation of particular laws, decrees, regulations, ordinances, military or police orders, and the like. These are usually laws that are regarded as inherently immoral, unjust, or tyrannical. Sometimes, however, laws of a largely regulatory or morally neutral character may be disobeyed as a symbol of opposition to wider policies of the government.

Conversion: A change of viewpoint by the opponents against whom nonviolent action has been waged, such that they come to believe it is right to accept the objectives of the nonviolent group. This is one of four mechanisms of change in nonviolent action.

Disintegration: The fourth mechanism of change in nonviolent action, in which the opponents are not simply coerced, but their system or government is disintegrated and falls apart as a result of massive noncooperation and defiance. The sources of power are restricted or severed by the noncooperation to such an extreme degree that the opponents' system or government simply dissolves.

Economic shut-down: A suspension of the economic activities of a city, area, or country on a sufficient scale to produce economic paralysis. The motives are usually political.

This may be achieved with a general strike by workers while management, business, commercial institutions, and small shopkeepers close their establishments and halt their economic activities.

Freedom (political): A political condition that permits freedom of choice and action for individuals and also for individuals and groups to participate in the decisions and operation of the society and the political system.

Grand strategy: The broadest conception of how an objective is to be attained in a conflict by a chosen course of action. The grand

strategy serves to coordinate and direct all appropriate and available resources (human, political, economic, moral, etc.) of the group to attain its objectives in a conflict. Several more limited strategies may be applied within a grand strategy to achieve particular objectives in subordinate phases of the overall struggle.

Grievance group: The general population group whose grievances are issues in the conflict, and are being championed by the nonviolent resisters.

Human resources: A term that is used here to indicate the number of persons and groups who obey "the ruler" (meaning the ruling group in command of the state), cooperate with, or assist the ruling group in implementing their will. This includes the proportion of such persons and groups in the general population, and the extent, forms, and independence of their organizations. A ruler's power is affected by the availability of these human resources, which constitute one of the sources of political power.

Material resources: This is another source of political power. The term refers to property, natural resources, financial resources, the economic system, means of communication, and modes of transportation. The degree to which the ruler controls, or does not control, these helps to determine the extent or limits of the ruler's power.

Mechanisms of change: The processes by which change is achieved in successful cases of nonviolent struggle. The four mechanisms are conversion, accommodation, nonviolent coercion, and disintegration.

Methods: The specific means of action within the technique of nonviolent action. Nearly two hundred specific methods have thus far been identified. They are classed under three main classes: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, and political), and nonviolent intervention.

Noncooperation: A large class of methods of nonviolent action that involve deliberate restriction, discontinuance, or withholding of social, economic, or political cooperation (or a combination of these) with a disapproved person, activity, institution, or regime.

The methods of noncooperation are classified in the subcategories of social noncooperation, economic noncooperation (economic boycotts and labor strikes), and political noncooperation.

Nonviolence (religious or ethical): Beliefs and behavior of several types in which violent acts are prohibited on religious or ethical grounds. In some belief systems, not only physical violence is barred but also hostile thoughts and words. Certain belief systems additionally enjoin positive attitudes and behavior toward opponents, or even a rejection of the concept of opponents. Such believers often may participate in nonviolent struggles with people practicing nonviolent struggle for pragmatic reasons, or may choose not to do so.

Nonviolent action: A general technique of conducting protest, resistance, and intervention without physical violence. Such action may be conducted by: (a) acts of omission—that is, the participants refuse to perform acts that they usually perform, are expected by custom to perform, or are required by law or regulation to perform; or (b) acts of commission—that is, the participants perform acts that they usually do not perform, are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation from performing; or (c) a combination of both. The technique includes a multitude of specific methods which are grouped into three main classes: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and nonviolent intervention.

Nonviolent coercion: A mechanism of change in nonviolent action in which demands are achieved against the will of the opponents because effective control of the situation has been taken away from them by widespread noncooperation and defiance. However, the opponents still remain in their official positions and the system has not yet disintegrated.

Nonviolent insurrection: A popular political uprising against an established regime regarded as oppressive by use of massive noncooperation and defiance.

Nonviolent intervention: A large class of methods of nonviolent action that in a conflict situation directly interfere by nonviolent means with the opponents' activities and operation of their system. These methods are distinguished from both symbolic protests and noncooperation. The disruptive intervention is most often physical (as in a sit-in) but may be psychological, social, economic, or political.

Nonviolent protest and persuasion: A large class of methods of nonviolent action that are symbolic acts expressing opposition opinions or attempting persuasion (as vigils, marches or picketing). These acts extend beyond verbal expressions of opinion but stop short of noncooperation (as a strike) and nonviolent intervention (as a sit-in).

Nonviolent struggle: The waging of determined conflict by strong forms of nonviolent action, especially against determined and resourceful opponents who may respond with repression.

Nonviolent weapons: The specific methods of nonviolent action.

Pillars of support: The institutions and sections of the society that supply the existing regime with the needed sources of power to maintain and expand its power capacity.

Examples are the police, prisons, and military forces supplying sanctions, moral and religious leaders supplying authority (legitimacy), labor groups and business and investment groups supplying economic resources, and similarly with the other identified sources of political power.

Political defiance: The strategic application of nonviolent struggle in order to disintegrate a dictatorship and replace it with a democratic system.

This resistance by noncooperation and defiance mobilizes the power of the oppressed population in order to restrict and cut off the sources of the dictatorship's power. Those sources are provided by groups and institutions called "pillars of support." When political defiance is used successfully, it can make a nation ungovernable by the current or any future dictatorship and therefore able to preserve a democratic system against possible new threats.

Political *jiu-jitsu:* A special process that may operate during a nonviolent struggle to change power relationships. In political *jiu-jitsu* negative reactions to the opponents' violent repression against nonviolent resisters is turned to operate politically against the opponents, weakening their power position and strengthening that of the nonviolent resisters. This can operate only when violent repression is met with continued nonviolent defiance, not violence or surrender. The opponents' repression is then seen in the worst possible light. Resulting shifts of opinion are likely to occur among third parties, the general grievance group, and even the opponents' usual supporters. Those shifts may produce both withdrawal of support for the opponents and increased support for the nonviolent resisters. The result may be widespread condemnation of the opponents, internal opposition among the opponents, and increased resistance. These changes can at times produce major shifts in power relationships in favor of the nonviolent struggle group. Political *jiu-jitsu* does not operate in all cases of nonviolent struggle. When it is absent the shift of power relationships depends highly on the extent of noncooperation.

Political power: The totality of influences and pressures available for use to determine and implement official policies for a society. Political power may be wielded by the institutions of government, or in opposition to the government by dissident groups and organizations. Political power may be directly applied in a conflict, or it

may be held as a reserve capacity for possible later use.

Sanctions: Punishments or reprisals, violent or nonviolent, imposed either because people have failed to act in the expected or desired manner or because people have acted in an unexpected or prohibited manner. Nonviolent sanctions are less likely than violent ones to be simple reprisals for disobedience and are more likely to be intended to achieve a given objective. Sanctions are a source of political power.

Self-reliance: The capacity to manage one's own affairs, make one's own judgments, and provide for oneself, one's group or organization, independence, self-determination, and self-sufficiency.

Skills and knowledge: A source of political power. The ruler's power is supported by the skills, knowledge and abilities that are provided by persons and groups in the society (human resources) and the relation of those available skills, knowledge and abilities to the ruler's needs for them.

Sources of power: These are origins of political power. They include: authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors, material resources and sanctions. These derive from the society. Each of these sources is closely associated with and dependent upon the acceptance, cooperation, and obedience of the population and the society's institutions. With a strong supply of these sources the ruler will be powerful. As the supply is weakened or severed, the ruler's power will weaken or collapse.

Strategic nonviolent struggle: Nonviolent struggle that is applied according to a strategic plan that has been prepared on the basis of analysis of the conflict situation, the strengths and weaknesses of the contending groups, the nature, capacities, and requirements of the technique of nonviolent action, and especially strategic principles of that type of struggle. See also: grand strategy, strategy, tactics, and methods.

Strategy: A plan for the conduct of a major phase, or campaign, within a grand strategy for the overall conflict. A strategy is the basic idea of how the struggle of a specific campaign shall develop, and how its separate components shall be fitted together to contribute most advantageously to achieve its objectives. Strategy operates within the scope of the grand strategy. Tactics and specific methods of action are used in smaller scale operations to implement the strategy for a specific campaign.

Strike: A deliberate restriction or suspension of work, usually temporarily, to put pressure on employers to achieve an economic objective or sometimes on the government in order to win a political objective.

Tactic: A limited plan of action based on a conception of how, in a restricted phase of a conflict, to use effectively the available means of action to achieve a specific limited objective. Tactics are intended for use in implementing a wider strategy in a phase of the overall conflict.

Violence: Physical violence against other human beings that inflicts injury or death, or threatens to inflict such violence, or any act dependent on such infliction or threat.

Some types of religious or ethical nonviolence conceive of violence much more broadly. This narrower definition permits adherents to those beliefs to cooperate with persons and groups that are prepared on pragmatic grounds to practice nonviolent struggle.

APPENDIX TWO
METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION

Formal Statements
1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience
7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

Group Representations
13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts
18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names

28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on Individuals

31. “Haunting” officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one’s back

THE METHODS OF SOCIAL NONCOOPERATION

Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS

Actions by Consumers

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by Workers and Producers
78. Workmen’s boycott
79. Producers’ boycott
Action by Middlemen
80. Suppliers’ and handlers’ boycott
Action by Owners and Management
81. Traders’ boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants’ “general strike”
Action by Holders of Financial Resources
86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government’s money
Action by Governments
92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers’ embargo
95. International buyers’ embargo
96. International trade embargo

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: THE STRIKE

Symbolic Strikes
97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)
Agricultural Strikes
99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers’ strike
Strikes by Special Groups
101. Refusal of impressed labor

102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes

105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

116. Generalized strike
117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

THE METHODS OF POLITICAL NONCOOPERATION

Rejection of Authority

120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions

128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sitdown
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action

149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action

151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION

Psychological Intervention

158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
    a) Fast of moral pressure
    b) Hunger strike
    c) Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention

181. Reverse strike
182. Stay-in strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of blockades

185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
186. Preclusive purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention

193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of “neutral” laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Far too often people struggling for democratic rights and justice are not aware of the full range of methods of nonviolent action. Wise strategy, attention to the dynamics of nonviolent struggle, and careful selection of methods can increase a group’s chances of success. Gene Sharp researched and catalogued these 198 methods and provided a rich selection of historical examples in his seminal work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973.

Appendix Three
Example of Problem Solving Using Staff Study Format

In mid-1992, a coalition of Burmese opposition groups established its Political Defiance Committee (PDC). One of its first tasks was to prepare a study on how best to wage the struggle for democracy in Burma in light of changing circumstances. It prepared a staff study, the contents of which were used in high level discussions within the National Council of the Union of Burma to decide whether priority should continue to be given to armed struggle or if the nonviolent struggle should be pursued. Obviously, the PDC, formed to guide a strategic nonviolent struggle to parallel the nonviolent efforts of Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy, favored the nonviolent option, but they were careful to be objective. The staff study format was used. The PDC's staff study is a good example of how this problem solving method can be used to address strategic questions.

Political Defiance Committee Staff Study

1. PROBLEM: Identify the most effective means to encourage civilian participation in the struggle to achieve victory in the struggle for democracy in Burma.

2. ASSUMPTION: The overwhelming majority of Burmese citizens oppose the rule of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

3. FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM:

A. There are approximately 44 million citizens living in Burma.

B. The Burmese Armed Forces number about 400,000 compared to the military component of the pro-democracy forces which number about 10,000. **(NOTE: now less than 4,000.)**

C. The leadership of the civilian pro-democracy movement inside Burma has been effectively removed by SLORC through arrest

and imprisonment, exile, intimidation or execution.

D. Resources are not available to arm and train the civilian population for armed conflict.

E. The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), cannot, alone, promote the democratic movement inside Burma. It does not possess the structure or trained personnel to plan, organize and manage a strategic effort.

F. SLORC has maintained both the military and political initiative in its struggle against the people in Burma.

G. In the past 10 years, successful Political Defiance warfare has been waged in several countries (Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, The Philippines, Russia, Poland, East Germany, Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Haiti, and Thailand).

H. The International Community tends to become interested in, and acts upon, political conflict when large segments of the population are actively involved.

4. DISCUSSION:

A. For almost a half a century, ethnic minorities in Burma, consisting of about one-third of the population, have been subjected to a variety of government-sponsored military and political offensives. These efforts have the objective of achieving total political, social and cultural destruction of distinct ethnic minorities. The levels of violence against these minorities were not widely known by the general public. It has only been since 1988, when the Burma Army began committing atrocities against them, that the general public became aware of what had been happening to the ethnic minorities for decades. Because of this burgeoning awareness, the Burmans and other ethnic groups now have a common enemy, the military dictatorship in Rangoon.

B. The 44 million citizens of Burma **(Note: in 2003 50 million)** are being terrorized and held in bondage by a military / police force of somewhat over 400,000. Put another way, in Burma, for every 100 people being held in the prisons of Burma, there is only one "prison guard". This 100:1 ratio of prisoners to guards **(Note: in 2003 125:1)** is a measure of the skillful use of terror, and intimida-

tion by the regime, and the pro-democracy's propensity to fragmentation. It also reflects the absence of leadership and strategic planning on the part of the people.

C. Because of the dictatorship's use of terror and other forms of oppression, the first, second, and often third line pro-democracy leadership has been removed from Burmese society. It is necessary for the pro-democracy forces to re-insert into Burma leaders and new leaders trained for duties in the struggle.

D. The major trading points along the borders have been seized by the Burma Army. This seizure means that there has been a drastic decrease in funds available for the purchase of arms and supplies. Additionally, foreign military support is not available. Therefore, resources are not available to expand the military component of the pro-democracy struggle. Importantly, moreover, it is inconceivable that should funds become available, such an enlarged force could be developed into a force capable of defeating the large and well-equipped forces of SLORC.

E. The NCGUB is the standard bearer for the National League for Democracy (NLD) government which was elected to power in May 1990. Even in areas where voting was not permitted, the leadership of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is accepted. The NCGUB, therefore, represents the leadership acknowledged by the people of Burma. Without the assistance of the National Council of the Union of Burma, the NCGUB cannot present a credible image to the world that a genuine parallel government exists.

F. Because of its military superiority and its opponents' lack of unity, SLORC has been able to initiate military and political offensives at times and places it chooses. If the political unity, which now appears growing between and among opposition groups, can continue, pro-democracy forces can seize the political initiative.

G. The history of massive nonviolent struggle, especially in the last decade, has validated the utility of this form of warfare in situations where a strong military force is used to oppress the civilian population. "Political Defiance" capabilities, like military skills, are not limited to certain nationalities, cultural groups or specific levels of oppression.

H. The world press reported on last stages of the 1988 uprising and the initial crackdown by the Burma Army. It was only because of massive public actions inside Burma that governments acted to impose sanctions on the military dictatorship. When general public participation was not present, international pressure was absent.

5. CONCLUSIONS:

A. To defeat the Rangoon regime, the Burmese population must have the capability to defy SLORC as it did in 1988, to coordinate its efforts with pro-democracy military and international components, and to develop strategic plans to unite and focus the resources available to them.

B. The balance of power could change in favor of the citizens of Burma if the public could be effectively employed in the struggle against SLORC.

C. There must be mutual support between the NCUB and NCGUB if political unity is to be maintained.

D. Political Defiance appears to offer capabilities to initiate strategic offensive political struggle against military dictatorships.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. Establish a Political Defiance Office reporting directly to the Presidium of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB). This office would be responsible for developing strategic plans, identifying resource requirements, overseeing Political Defiance education and training, and coordinating all of the strategic operational planning.

B. Immediately conduct Political Defiance Courses to prepare selected personnel for early return inside Burma in order that they recruit, train and organize Political Defiance capabilities for offensive action.

C. Task existing Underground resources to support the activities of Political Defiance units.

Appendix Four
Suggested Format for Preparing a Strategic Estimate

ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION

1. MISSION

2. THE SITUATION AND COURSES OF ACTION

- A. CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION
  - (1) Characteristics of the area of operations.
    - (a) Military geography.
      - 1. Topography
      - 2. Hydrography
      - 3. Climate and weather
    - (b) Transportation
    - (c) Telecommunications
    - (d) Politics
  - (2) Relative combat power
    - (a) Opponent military
      - 1. Strength
      - 2. Order of battle
      - 3. Location and disposition
      - 4. Reinforcements
      - 5. Logistics
      - 6. Combat efficiency
      - 7. Profile of military
    - (b) Friendly military (same as above)
    - (c) Opponent Political Defiance
      - 1. Strengths
      - 2. Weaknesses
      - 3. Pillars of support

4. Demographic considerations
    a. Population density
    b. Distribution of college graduates
    c. Literacy rates among supporters
    d. Ethnic and religious densities
    e. Standards of living (supporters)
5. Political Considerations
    a. "Natural allies"
    b. Organizations
    c. Political fissures
6. Security considerations
    a. Effectiveness of counter-intelligence
    b. Vulnerability for recruitment
    c. Organizational vetting procedures
    d. Communications
    e. Information and document security

(d) Friendly Political Defiance (as above)

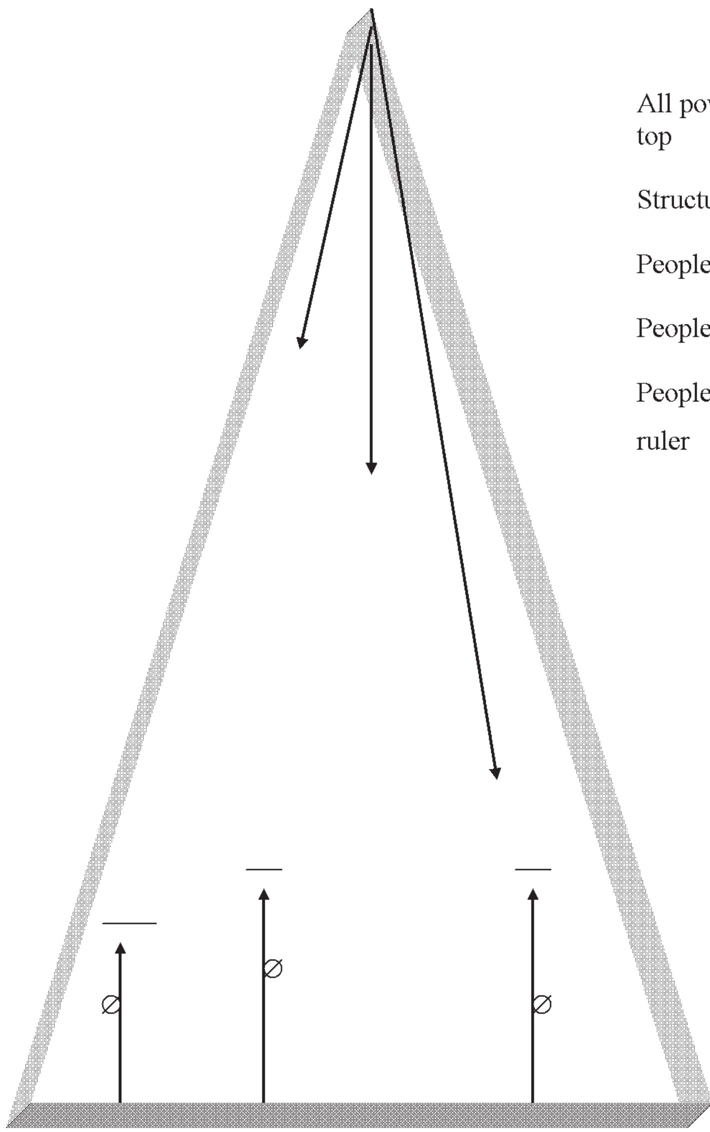
(3) Assumptions

B. OPPONENT CAPABILITIES

C. OWN COURSES OF ACTION

3. Analysis of opposing courses of action
4. Comparison of own courses of action
5. Decision

FIGURE 1
MONOLITHIC MODEL OF POWER



All power resides at the top

Structure is unchanging

People have no input

People must obey

People dependent on ruler

Figure 2
Pluralistic Model of Power

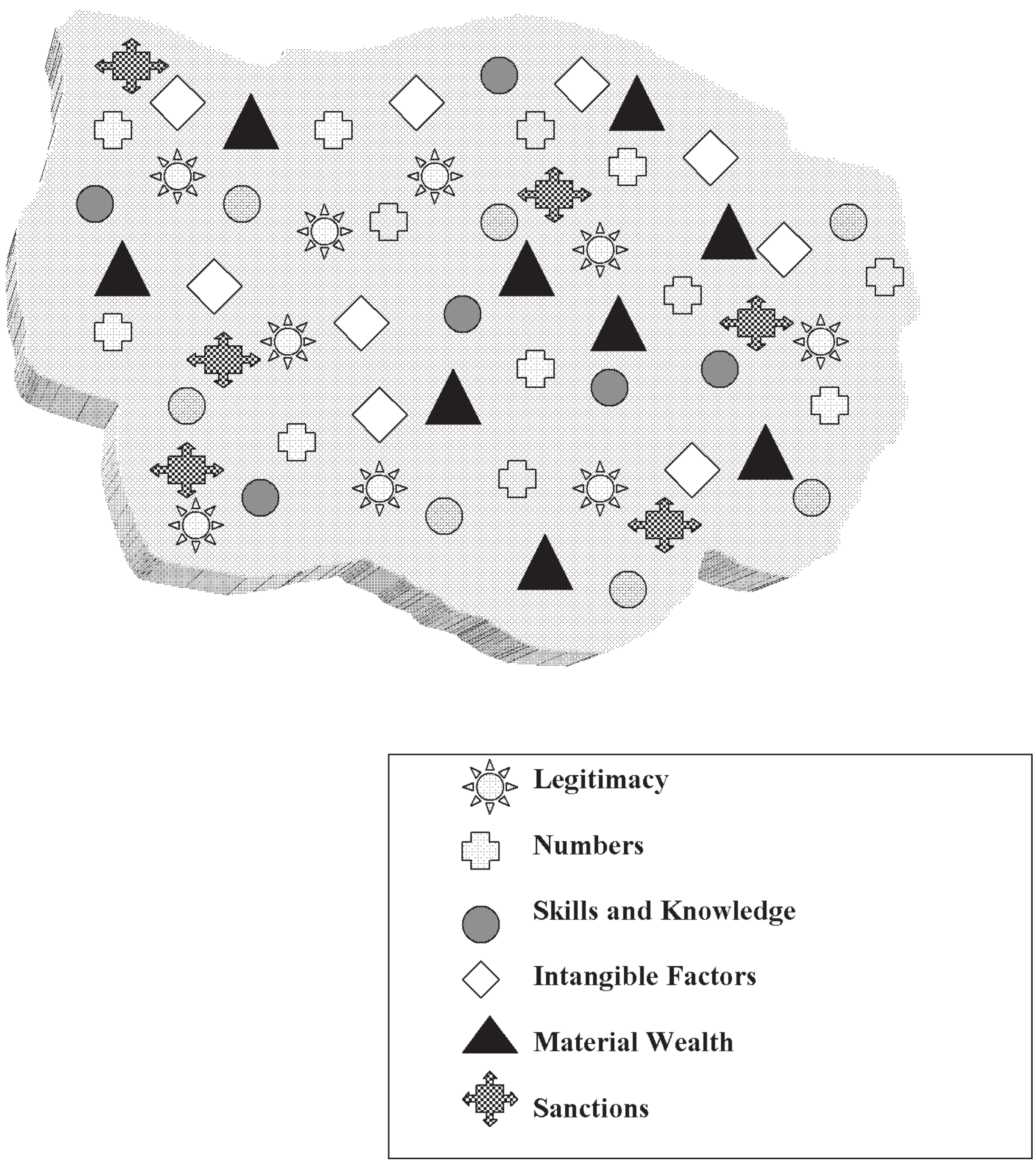


FIGURE 3
PILLARS OF SUPPORT

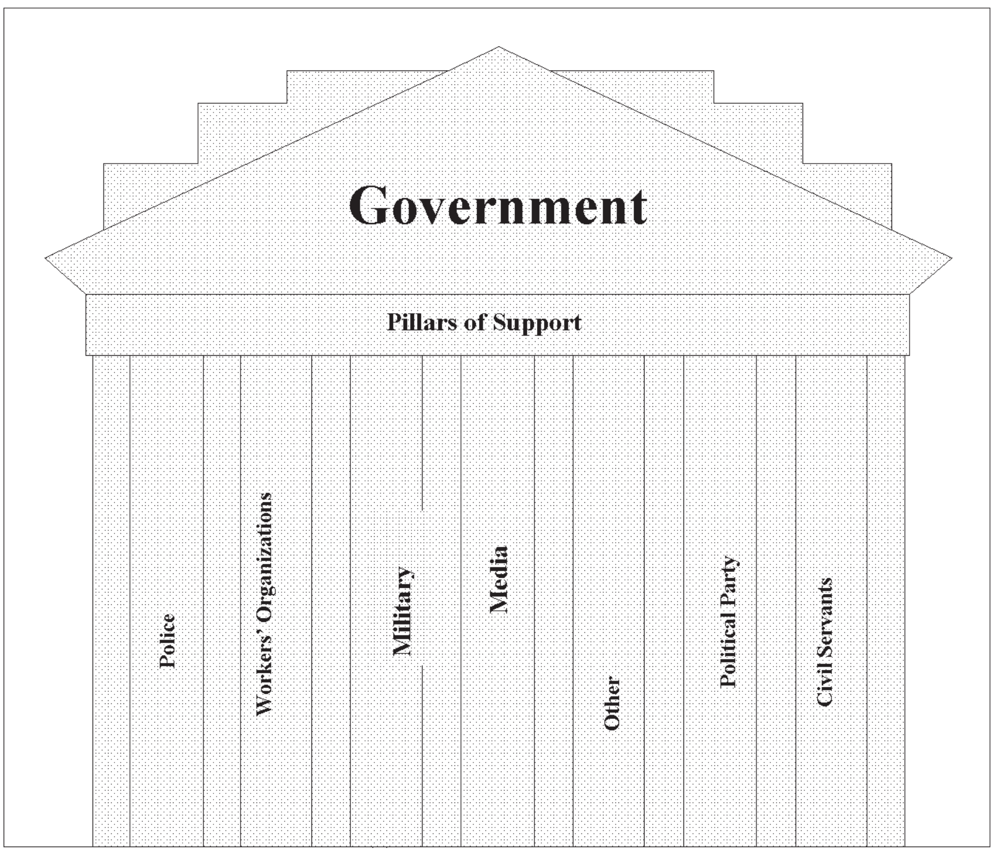
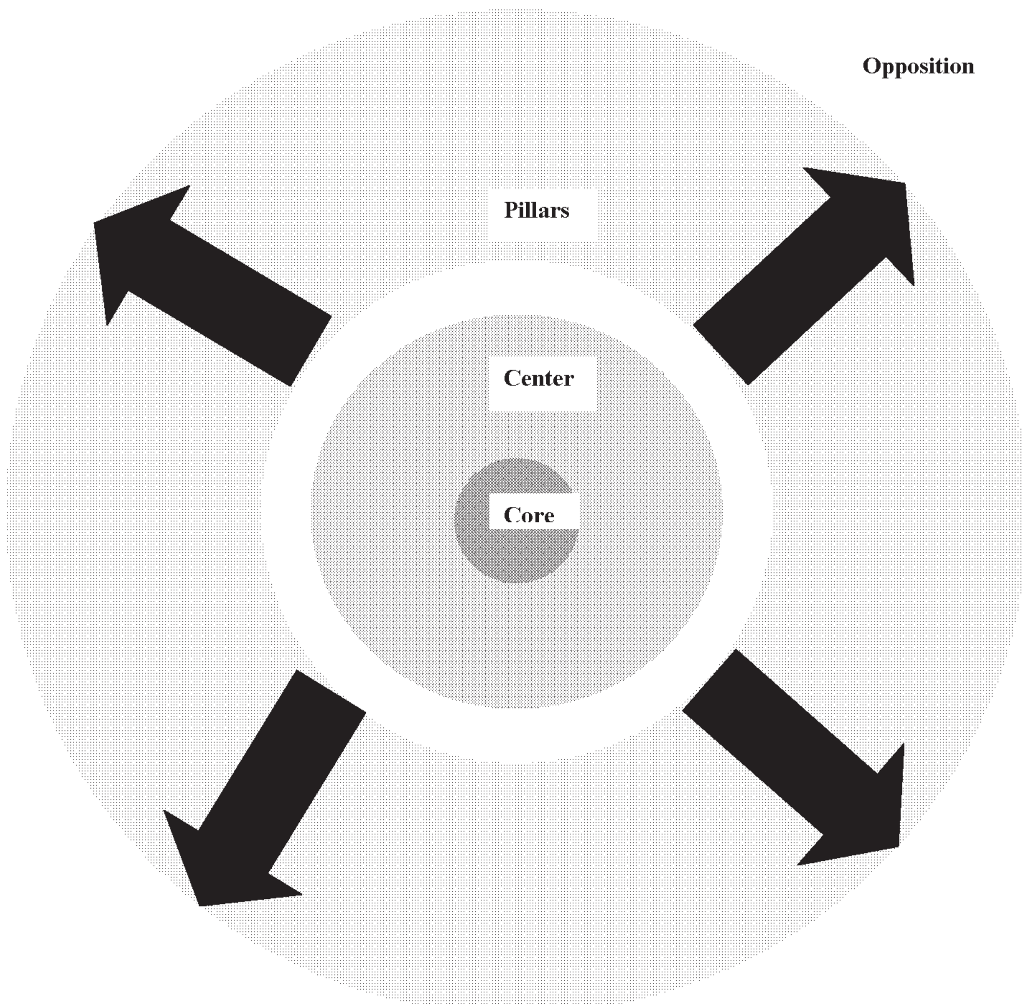


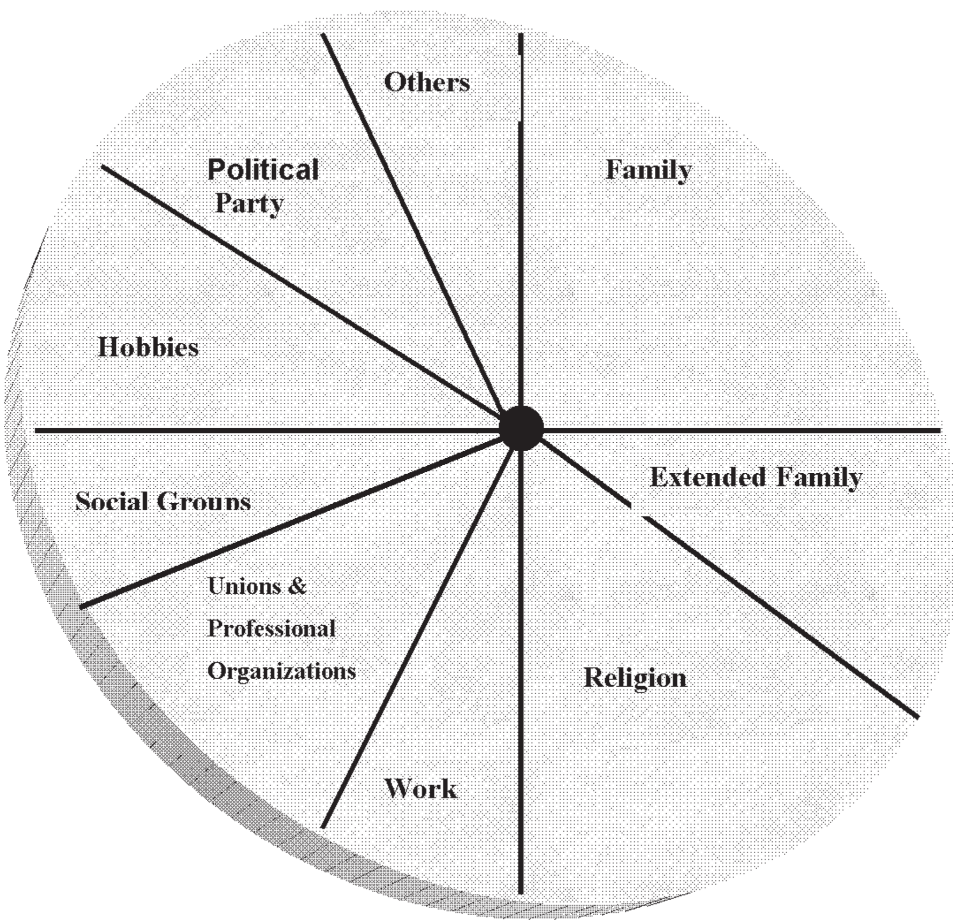
FIGURE 4

PULLING VS. PUSHING PILLARS OF SUPPORT



Strategic Nonviolent Strategies seek to pull pillars of support away from the ruler, thus isolating him from sources of power.

FIGURE 5
LOYALTY PIE



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